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THE LORD'S SUPPER,
A
FEAST AFTER SACRIFICE.

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THE LORD'S SUPPER,
A
FEAST AFTER SACRIFICE.

WITH INQUIRIES INTO THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION
AND THE PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT AS APPLIED
TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE.

BY
JAMES BOOTH, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. &c.

VICAR OF STONE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.



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PREFACE.

IN ANY RATIONAL ATTEMPT to establish the true nature of the Lord's Supper, our chief reliance must be placed on the brief narratives of the four Evangelists and of St. Paul, supplemented by a knowledge of the language, history, antiquities, and customs not only of the Jews but also of the contemporary heathen nations of the East. These will supply the materials which we must put together so as to build up that doctrine, and draw those inferences which would seem most likely to be true. We must bear in mind that our access to those materials—at least, to any that are of real importance—is as full and open as it was to the early ecclesiastical writers. In many points our advantages are greater. In the art of printing, facilities of travelling, more general and more precise knowledge of the ancient languages, but above all, in the accumulated stores of learning—the fruit of the choicest mental gifts, devoted for centuries past to the

investigation of those truths which it is man's highest interest to know.

The question, then, resolves itself into this: Are the learned men who have flourished in Europe since the Reformation as capable of sifting evidence, as competent to draw logical inferences, as those pious, and, for the most part, learned men, who are generally known as Fathers of the Church. May we not say that theirs was the 'Juventus Mundi,' as our age may be called—to use Bacon's words, the old age and antiquity of the world. 'Indeed, to speak truly, *Antiquitas seculi, juvenus mundi*. Certainly our times are the ancient times, when the world is now ancient, and not those which we count ancient, *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from our own times.'*

The works of the early ecclesiastical writers are chiefly valuable in this respect, that with their own statements and opinions they incidentally afford us often a clear view of the current opinions and tone of thought of their time. We see also how questions, then scarcely known or named, much less discussed, have come into prominence in our own day.

One of those questions is that view of the Eucharist, called by Luther, its author, Consubstantiation.

Attempts have been made in this country repeatedly and recently to bring this doctrine into notice, under a new appellation, 'The Real Objective Presence,' or

* Bacon, *Of the Advancement of Learning*, lib. i. p. 36.

the 'Co-existent Theory,' a doctrine never accepted by the Church of England, and now obsolete in Germany, the country of its birth. It seemed to me an occasion not unsuitable to attempt to revive that ancient view of the sacrament, once held, almost universally, in the Church of England, which looks upon the Lord's Supper as a feast upon or after sacrifice, a view long obscured by the more popular Socinian teaching of a later age. As this is one of those subjects upon which little new and important can now be said, I have thought it the wiser plan to follow Dr. Waterland's advice.

'In subjects which have already passed through many hands, and which have been thoroughly sifted and considered by the ablest and best heads, in a course of seventeen hundred years, there appears to be a great deal more room for *judgment* than for *invention*; since little *new* can now be thought on that is worth notice: and it is much wiser and safer to take the most *valuable* observations of men most eminent in their several ways, than to advance poor things of our own, which perhaps are scarce worth the mentioning in comparison.'*

In accordance with this prudent advice, I have endeavoured rather to combine and elucidate the views of such men as Joseph Mede, Dr. Cudworth, Archbishop Potter, Archbishop Sharp, Bishop Warburton, Dr. Waterland, Dr. Pelling, Bishop Hampden,

* Dr. Waterland, *Introduction to a Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 10.

and others, who have developed and established this doctrine with profound learning, sound judgment, and true piety.

This view of the sacrament covers the ideas of *Communion* and *Covenant*, and it may be proper to observe, by the way, that the latter word, *Covenant*, and the idea it implies, have dropped out of some recent treatises on the Eucharist altogether. Thus Canon Trevor, in his recent work on the Eucharist, states that the true objects of the Eucharistic sacrifice are : 1. To praise God for the mercies of Creation, Providence, and Redemption ; 2. To plead and commemorate the sacrifice of the Cross, communicating the Body and Blood there offered to the faithful receiver ; 3. To offer ourselves, in union with Christ, a living sacrifice unto God.*

If the Lord's Supper be a feast after sacrifice, it will clearly follow that the Eucharist is the symbol of the union of the Christian with his Saviour. As man is bodily nourished by bread and wine, so is he spiritually fed by communion with his God. *Covenant* and *Communion* are the two cardinal notions on which this view of the sacrament turns. It is idle to say it is mere symbolism. Rites and ceremonies, types and symbols, were used in ancient times to a much greater extent than in our own. Utilitarianism scoffs at forms, rites,

* The Rev. George Trevor, Canon of York, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrifice and Participation of the Holy Eucharist*, p. 46.

and ceremonies. They are held to be puerile—unworthy of the wisdom of a self-satisfied and pretentious age.

Again, this view of the Eucharist, if it be the true one, demonstrates the reality of the sacrifice upon the Cross. For if the Lord's Supper be of the nature of a *feast after sacrifice*, then must it be taken as a clear anticipative declaration of Christ himself, that his death upon the Cross was to be a REAL SACRIFICE. But if, on the other hand, it be a rite of simple commemoration, we cannot infer from it that Christ's death upon the Cross—other evidence being for the moment put aside—was more than an instance of suffering in a righteous cause, and which deserved to be remembered; and this is the logical view the Socinians take of it; or, to put it in other words, they hold that a simple rite of remembrance is an adequate memorial of the sufferings of a mere benefactor on the Cross.

J. B.

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THE
LORD'S SUPPER
A FEAST AFTER SACRIFICE.

CHAPTER I.

THE progress of civilisation, as it is called, and the diffusion of useful knowledge in a popular form, may be, and no doubt are, attended with many advantages ; but, like everything earthly, they have their corresponding drawbacks. While the elements of science are popularised, and professed to be brought down to the level of the meanest capacity, while a sensational literature has become the general reading of the many, it is strange, or rather it is not strange, as being the natural result of the literary tastes of the public,* how much the habit of patient thought has ceased to be cultivated amongst us. One fact is sufficient to prove this : the little popularity that works addressed merely

* 'The great number of books and papers of amusement, which, of one kind or another, daily come in one's way, have in part occasioned, and most perfectly fall in with, and humour this idle way of reading and considering things. By this means, time even in solitude is happily got rid of without the strain of attention.'—*Preface to Bishop Butler's Sermons.*

to the understanding generally command in this age of many readers. It is said that Locke's 'Essay on Human Understanding' ran through seven editions during the first fourteen years after its publication.* It is much to be doubted whether it would command so wide a circle of readers, if now published for the first time. The things we must read about are so multiplied, and the treatises which profess to discuss them so numerous, that one, who wishes to keep himself acquainted with the popular science and light literature of the day, cannot stop to inquire, much less to investigate. As the Preacher said in his admonition, 'Of making many books there is no end:' but much study is not a weariness to the flesh, at least in our day.

- Again, when the subjects of inquiry are either political or theological, their investigation is attended with perturbing causes of error, from which researches in pure science are mostly free. The mathematician is not very solicitous as to the result to which his analysis may lead him; in theology or politics almost everyone has a foregone conclusion to establish. There is a curious fact to be noticed in the history of the progress of human thought. Opinions like fashions have their day. They rise, they grow; universally accepted, they cease to be discussed; they gradually

* 'Seven editions of the *Essay on Human Understanding* were printed within the first fourteen years. A copy of the thirteenth edition, printed as early as 1748, is now lying before me. So rapid and so extensive a circulation of a work, on a subject so little within the reach of common readers, is the best proof of the established popularity of the author's name.'—*Dugald Stewart's Preliminary Dissertations*, p. 104.

decline, and at last are quite forgotten ; in some future age perhaps to be revived, and once more to influence the minds of men.

One of the most striking instances and prominent illustrations of this oscillation of human opinion is the laborious attempt, in our own day, to build up again some of those theological dogmas which were exploded in this country at the time of the Reformation. Within the last few years many members of the Church of England—especially among the clergy—men of deep religious feeling—have begun to uphold views as to the nature of the Eucharist, or Supper of our Lord, which differ but little, if at all, from the doctrine of Transubstantiation.* For many years after the Reformation the question seemed to have been set at rest, owing to the thorough investigation and exhaustive discussion which it then received, at the hands of the ‘ godly doctors ’ of the Church of England. Their ample stores of Biblical

* ‘ But of late years another, and a wholly different, principle has been evident in the language of many of those who have been prominently before the Church as leaders of the self-styled “ Catholic school.” They have acted upon a general presumption, tacitly implied by some, openly and defiantly expressed by others, that the doctrinal language of the Roman Church, upon disputed questions, is much more “ Catholic ” than our own; in other words, more in accordance with the mind of the Lord, and with the faith of the Church from the beginning. Two exceptions were, for a time, generally made to this presumption, and still are by some at least. These exceptions were, the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the extreme developments of teaching concerning the Blessed Mother of our Lord, characteristic of the Roman Church. But there are many now (strange that this should be said of English clergymen) who do not except the first doctrine. Some there are, I greatly fear, who do not recoil even from the last.’—*A Correspondence between the Rev. W. B. Marriott and the Rev. T. T. Carter*, Part II. p. 132, 1868.

knowledge and patristic erudition—the spoils of life-long study—supplied them with hosts of arguments, pointed and applied with a matchless force of logical keenness and dialectical precision.

We cannot but think that this modern revival of a belief, long since discountenanced and exploded in the Church of England, has been in a great measure, if not altogether, owing to the *low* views of the nature and significancy of the Lord's Supper which very generally have prevailed in the Church, and coloured the teaching of a great majority of the clergy, ever since the *Restoration*. Whether we must assign as the cause, or as one of the causes, the Puritan teaching which held such undisputed sway during the Commonwealth, or the Erastian notions which afterwards prevailed, or the injurious influences exercised in the government of the Church by the successive ministries of William of Orange and the first two Georges; be the causes what they may, there can be no doubt that the clergy lowered the tone of their teaching, especially in the matter of the Sacraments, and passed from the extreme of Romanism, through Puritanism, almost to Socinianism. This statement will no doubt appear strange to some, but it may be amply and easily shown that the view of the Lord's Supper now held by many in communion with the Church, and which has been the popular teaching from our pulpits, differs in reality but little from that of Socinus. The true doctrine of the Church of England, as regards the Sacraments, established at the Reformation, and upheld by her leading

divines for upwards of a century and a half, has been in these latter days either ignored or forgotten. What is the consequence? The Real Presence, in its most exaggerated Papal form, is taught from our pulpits or symbolised in our churches, or delivered *ex cathedrâ* in our Episcopal charges.* It is on this peculiar doctrine that all that is really important in Ritualism is founded. Unless the Real Presence be admitted as a fundamental truth, the whole, or at least the greater part, of those postures and practices become histrionic and unmeaning.

The most effectual method of discountenancing those gaudy forms and parodies on the Mass will be found, not in an appeal to the Prayer Book of King Edward VI., but by showing what is the true origin and real nature of that ordinance known in all Christian Churches as the Eucharist, or Supper of our Lord.

All the various shades of conflicting opinion on this much-debated question may, we believe, be reduced to four distinct views :—

(I.) That which holds the Eucharist to be a simple commemoration or mere remembrance of Christ's death and passion.

(II.) That which holds the Eucharist to be a Sacrificial Feast. *EPULUM SACRIFICIALE*.

* Bishop of Brechin's *Theological Defence*, &c., p. 18: 'Our Lord's Body and Blood, and therefore by virtue of the hypostatic union, our Lord himself.' . . . See also the late Bishop of Salisbury's *Charge*, 1867, p. 50: 'Christ's precious Body and Blood, and so by virtue of the hypostatic union, Christ himself.' See *Correspondence between Rev. W. B. Marriott and Rev. T. T. Carter*, Part II. p. 79, 1868.

(III.) That which holds our Lord's body and blood to be actually and corporeally present in the bread and wine. In other words, the Real Presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, or *Transubstantiation*.

(IV.) The doctrine invented by Luther, to which he gave the name of *Consubstantiation*. It has now but very few supporters, even in Germany, as Dr. Dollinger informs us; but it has been recently revived amongst ourselves under the appellation of the 'Real Objective Presence.' Co-existence is substituted for Transmutation. In the Papal doctrine the bread and wine are *transubstantiated* into the Body and Blood of Christ. The Lutheran holds that the gross *unchanged* bread and wine are *united* with the Body and Blood of our Lord, and are so taken into our mouths, a doctrine more offensive to many than that of transubstantiation itself. In the former, the Divine Presence is *veiled*, so to speak, under the *accidents* of the elements; while in the latter it is, as it were, *attached* to the *substance* of common bread and wine. The one is a mystical idea, the other a gross 'ineffable' conception; while they are both alike unscriptural.

The view we shall endeavour in the following pages to establish and develope is that once held and taught by Mede and Cudworth, by Waterland and Warburton, by Archbishop Potter and a host of other 'godly doctors' of the Church; who, coming in the century and a half immediately following the Reformation, are justly acknowledged to be as well the most learned as

the soundest expositors of the doctrines of the Church.*
It may be said that such men as Mede and Cudworth

* 'There is another method natural, I venture to think, to an English Churchman, and the only one, as I at least should add, which is consistent at once with the principles of his own Church, and with those of the whole Church from the beginning. This method is one which assigns "to every one his due honour:" to Scripture what to Scripture due; to Fathers what to Fathers due; and to his own Church, what a son will dutifully and gladly give to her who is his spiritual Mother. He believes, on the one hand, that the ultimate test by which disputed matters of doctrine are to be determined is the Word of God Himself, enshrined in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament. But when, in matters of dispute, such as those of which we now speak, a further question arises as to the meaning of those Scriptures themselves, his first instinct is to inquire what is the teaching of the English Church upon the matter in dispute. To that teaching he listens, not indeed as to an absolutely infallible oracle (for the infallibility that we acknowledge not in other churches, we claim not for our own), but as to one who, in the Providence of God, has a first and paramount claim to be heard. And if he is obliged to carry on an appeal to an authority other than that of the English Church, he will be ready to use, thankfully, honestly, humbly, and yet fearlessly, all the means which God has put within his reach, whereby God's grace being with him, he may attain to that higher knowledge which he needs. Has God bestowed upon the Church of these later days, and in any way made available to him, the gift of interpretation? He uses that gift with all thankfulness and delight, to make his own whatever of deeper and more exact knowledge it is given him thereby to attain. But he must be presumptuous indeed, and self-deceived indeed, if he deems, that on his own age alone such gifts have been bestowed; and that he may trust to his own skill to draw forth the true meaning of God's word, in disregard of that witness to the very truth once delivered, which has been borne by holy men from the very age of the Apostles to this day. When, therefore, in disputed matters of doctrine, he is obliged to investigate for himself, and to draw his own conclusions, he will carefully test these by comparison with those set forth, in days gone by, by our Fathers in the Faith—of those more especially who, by the concurrent suffrages of the Church in all ages, have been accepted as the great champions of the Faith, or its best and most trustworthy witnesses.'—*A Correspondence between the Rev. W. B. Marriott and the Rev. T. T. Carter*, Part II. p. 129.

were slow thinkers. The current of their thought was slow and silent, it is true, but it was the current of the mighty river, deep and strong, and not the noisy rapids of the shallow brook. They were given to patient thinking; that habit of mind to which Newton attributed his superiority over other men. They passed their days in cloistered retirement, far from the busy haunts and ways of men, in a life-long search after truth. The name of the 'profoundly learned' Joseph Mede, as he is termed by his biographer, is in itself a tower of strength.* His rare disinterestedness shrunk from that promotion in the Church he had so richly earned, that he might still further add to those stores of knowledge he had reaped and garnered, not only from the study of the Bible in its original languages, but from the wide field of all patristic antiquity. 'Cudworth's Intellectual System' is a work of marvellous erudition, in which ancient philosophy is forced to supply arguments to uphold revealed truth. The deep learning and logical acuteness of

* 'I will refer you to an authority,' says the Rev. W. B. Marriott, 'which will, with good reason, have far more weight with you than any mere opinion of mine. I will quote one rightly honoured for his great learning, scriptural and patristic, by all English theologians—one, too, of whose patristic knowledge (here more particularly pertinent to the question in hand) you yourself have so high an opinion, that in a former treatise of yours you state, that it is more satisfactory to you to quote his opinion of what the primitive fathers taught, than to allege original passages from the fathers themselves. The writer of whom I speak is Joseph Mede, the author of *The Christian Sacrifice*, who has devoted, as you well know, a long and elaborate treatise to this very subject of sacrificial offering, with which we ourselves are occupied.'—*Correspondence between the Rev. W. Marriott and the Rev. T. T. Carter*, Part II. p. 77, 1868.

Bishop Warburton are known to all; while Dr. Waterland is universally allowed to be one of the most skilful controversialists that the Church of England has produced.

Before we enter on the discussion of that view, in which the Lord's Supper is held to be *Epulum Sacrificiale*, or a *feast after or upon Sacrifice*, it becomes proper briefly to consider the notion of that ordinance inculcated from our pulpits, and laid down in our popular treatises of divinity. That the Eucharist is a mere commemorative rite, a bare memorial of Christ's death and sufferings, emptied of all mystery, impotent as an instrument to impart sanctification or grace; its celebration an act of pious gratitude and willing obedience on our part, but void of all special benefit bestowed on us by Him, has been taught not only by Socinus and his followers, but also by dignitaries of the Church of England.* Dr. Waterland, in

* 'The Socinians—some of them at least—not content with supposing this remembrance or commemoration to be one considerable end or part of this sacrament, make it to be the only end or use of it;¹ yea, and sometimes go so far as to say that it constitutes the very nature or essence of this holy rite. For they interpret the words "this is my body," so as to mean this action, this eating and drinking, is the *memorial of Christ's body broken*.'²

¹ 'Et hæc quidem quam explicuimus mortis Christi annunciatio proprius est atque unicus Cœnæ Dominicæ finis.'—Volkel. *de Cœn. Dom.* p. 687.

² 'Hæc actio frangendi et comedendi panem est corpus, hoc est commemoratio Christi corporis pro nobis fracti.' (Smalc. *contr. Frantz*, p. 315.) See *Dr. Waterland's Works*, vol. vii. p. 55.

'As to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there are but two ends mentioned of it in the New Testament, the one to do it in remembrance of Christ, the other that it is a symbol of love and friendship with one another.'—*Dr. Sykes, as quoted by Bishop Van Mildert, in his Edition of Dr. Waterland's Works*, vol. i. p. 192.

discussing this question, states the views of the Socinians thus :—‘ In their explanation of the true theory of the Lord’s Supper, the Socinians prefer to consider it rather as a *commemoration* than a *remembrance* of Christ’s death and passion.’ Waterland assigns the following ground for this preference :—‘ Some perhaps might wonder why the Socinians, of all men, should reject the notion of *remembrance* and choose that of *commemoration*, which is really higher. Socinus had, however, a turn to serve in favour of an *hypothesis*, and that was all. The turn was this : he had a mind to make the *ἀνάμνησις* (which is one end or use or part of the Sacrament) to be the *whole* of the Sacrament, its whole nature and essence, and to interpret the words, “this is my body” and “this is my blood” to mean this *bread* and *wine*, or rather this action is an *ἀνάμνησις*,* a *commemoration*, and nothing more. He could not pretend to say that this *material* thing or this *external* action is a *remembrance* (which denotes an *internal* perception), and therefore he substitutes *commemoration* in its stead, an *outward* act, an *external* service, and then resolves the *whole* of the Sacrament into that, confounding the end or use of the thing with the thing itself.’—*Dr. Waterland’s Works*, vol. vii. p. 64.

A similar view was taken by Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Plain Account of the*

* ‘*Ἀνάμνησις* ritus Hebræorum redolet : habebant namque Judæi, in celebratione *agni paschalis*, plures ejusmodi *ἀναμνήσεις* et recordationes,’ &c.—Bucherus, *Antiquitates Biblicæ*, p. 379.

Lord's Supper; a tract thus described by Bishop Van Mildert in his life of Waterland* (vol. i. p. 208):—

‘A tract which lowers the importance of that Sacrament more perhaps than had ever been done before except by *Socinian* writers; reducing it to a bare memorial of our Lord's death and sufferings, an act of pious gratitude and obedience on *our* part, but unattended by any special benefits on *his*; discarding from it all mystical signification and all efficacy as the means of conveying pardon or sanctification; and not even requiring, on the part of the communicant, any recognition of that *atonement* and *propitiation* made for sin, which Christians in general have conceived to be the main object of the institution itself, &c. On scarcely any subject, perhaps, has the Christian world been more divided than on that of the Eucharist. Between the high ground (the perilous height, indeed) of Papal transubstantiation and the low and contracted views taken by Socinian interpreters, an indefinite variety of opinions may be traced, difficult either to

* It has also been suggested by a Socinian writer that the notion of remembrance or commemoration in this service is an argument against *present* receiving of benefits in or by it. Christ and his benefits are to be remembered or commemorated here: therefore, neither He nor his benefits are supposed to be actually received at the time. But this would imply that the notion of absence is one of the elements of the signification of the word remembrance. This is not universally so, for we are commanded to ‘remember to keep holy the Sabbath day,’ which, of course, is present at the time.

‘Jam constat homines ibi non *participare*, vel *sortiri*, vel accipere sanguinem Christi; participatio enim vel sortitio rei *presentis* est; at benedictio, quæ hoc loco idem est quod *commemoratio* rei *præteritæ* esse solet.’—Smalcus, *Contra Frantz*, p. 331.

be enumerated or explained. It was but too evident that this work would soon become a standard of doctrine upon the Sacrament among a considerable party in the Church. All who had any bias towards Socinianism or Arianism, all who were indisposed to receive the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice, and expiation for guilt, all who were sceptical as to the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit, and their necessity in the work of salvation; would readily fall in with a scheme which did not depend upon the truth of any of these articles of faith for its support; but might be adapted to a creed in which neither the Divinity of the Saviour nor his all-sufficient merits, nor his mediation and intercession, nor the influence of the Spirit of Grace formed any of its component parts. This laxity of sentiment appeared to have been gaining ground for a considerable time, both among the clergy and laity. It had been much fostered by the labours of those who took part with Dr. Clarke in his endeavours to lower the doctrine of the Church of England to the standard of his own opinions, and who upheld Bishop Hoadley in the Bangorian controversy.'

In much the same spirit, Dr. Zachary Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, contended that the Sacrament was not in itself a federal act, communicative of the benefits of Christ's death, but only commemorative and representative of these benefits. He further objected to the Eucharist being considered as substituted for the Passover, nor did he think there was sufficient proof that the Passover was a sacrifice, or that sac-

rifices themselves were *federal* rites. His general persuasion seemed to be that the Eucharist was nothing more than a feast instituted as a *memorial* of Christ's death; the bread and wine to be received in *remembrance* of Him, not in *renewal of the covenant* made by Him. The reader will find in a note* the opinions of Bishop Hoadley, Dr. Samuel Clarke, Dr. Ogden, Dr. Tomline (Bishop of Lincoln), in all of which the same low view of the Sacrament is taken.

It is really not worth while to heap up authorities, and to examine witnesses to show how popular and prevalent was this teaching. We are far from

* Bishop Hoadley, in his *Plain Account of the Lord's Supper*, states that it was instituted merely in remembrance of Christ; that the bread to be taken and eaten was appointed to be the memorial of his body broken, and the wine to be drunk was ordained to be the memorial of his blood shed, &c.—*Plain Account*, p. 24.

'And let your frequent eating this bread, and drinking this cup, be a constant remembrancer to your thoughts, an assistance to your devotion, and a perpetual renewing of these spiritual meditations,' &c.—*Dr. Samuel Clarke's Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 114.

'He that frequently and devoutly, with understanding and knowledge of what he does, partakes of the Holy Communion, cannot fail to keep up in his mind such a constant remembrance of our Lord. When we see the bread broken and the wine poured out, we cannot but contemplate how his body was broken and his blood shed for our sakes.'—*Ibid.* p. 130.

'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a commemoration only of that all-sufficient sacrifice which was once offered for an eternal expiation.'—*Ibid.* p. 133.

'When, therefore, in conformity to our Lord's institution at his last supper, we eat bread and drink wine, as He hath commanded, it is in remembrance of his death.'—Ogden, *Sermons*, p. 388.

'Instead of keeping the Jewish Passover, which was now to be abrogated, they were to commemorate Christ their Passover who was sacrificed for them.'—*Bishop Pretyman's Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 476.

accusing learned prelates and university professors of having had any sympathy with Socinus, or any wish to advocate his views. Very probably, they knew but little of his works or of those of his followers, which had a much wider circulation on the Continent than they could command here.

To consider the Eucharist as a memorial is a view not so much erroneous as inadequate. It makes that the whole which is only a part. In the celebration of every rite, in the keeping of every anniversary, the idea of commemoration, the notion of remembrance of, is involved. It is unquestionably true that the Lord's Supper is a commemorative rite. So also is Baptism. So, too, are the forms of service for 'Ordering of Priests' and 'Making of Deacons,' or any other rite which by association leads the mind to contemplate its origin and institution. But commemoration is not the main object of baptism, or of the forms for making deacons and ordering priests, but something else quite distinct from it. The true characteristic of commemorations which are simply such, and nothing more, is periodicity, or their recurrence after stated intervals of time. Thus the Sabbath is a commemorative institution: it recurs every seventh day. The Sabbatical year was a commemorative institution: it recurred every seventh year. The year of Jubilee was in a certain sense a commemorative institution: it recurred after the close of every forty-ninth year.

In the Church of England the services which commemorate religious or political events are periodic.

Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, &c., recur at fixed intervals; so also does the celebration of the sovereign's accession to the throne. In private life the same principle of periodicity prevails. If we keep a birthday, or any other day, set apart as a memorial of some deliverance or day of thanksgiving, its observance recurs after certain fixed intervals; and as these intervals are usually a year, we call them anniversaries. Now, there is no fixed season appointed, no stated time exclusively settled, either by the Scriptures or the Church, for the administration of Baptism or for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

There is a rubric in the Book of Common Prayer which enjoins that 'None be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.' Now, if the Eucharist be a mere commemoration, one can hardly see any rational reason why the young should not partake of the Lord's Supper as soon as they begin, with intelligence, to attend at church; but we may see a very cogent cause why they should abstain from doing so, if the true theory of the sacraments be this, that in the Lord's Supper we renew our baptismal vows; that we enter into a solemn federal covenant with God. Then it is very reasonable and very proper that we should not seemingly renew promises made for us, vicariously at our baptism, until we should have personally taken them upon ourselves; or at least are ready to assume that responsibility in the formal rite of Confirmation.

But it may be said, granting that Jews and Heathens did feast upon things sacrificed, and did believe that in so doing they entered into federal obligations with the object of their adoration; is it at all likely, or even probable, in the lowest degree, that Christ would appropriate rites so desecrated, and use them as patterns for his own? Now no principle can be better established than this, that arguments drawn from the likelihood of God's acting in this or that way are of no weight whatever. The question we have to consider, in all such cases, is not a matter of reasoning or probability or analogy, but one of fact, whether that fact be made known to us either by express revelation, or the evidence of the senses, or the testimony of consciousness. Nothing can be more firmly established than the fact that rites analogous to Baptism and the Eucharist had existed from the earliest times among the Jews. Our Lord, taking these ancient and familiar forms, clothes them with new attributes, invests them with other qualities, and constitutes them the visible and material emblems of our faith. He thus breathes new life into those old and dying ordinances, making them the types of living privileges, of covenants that shall not pass away.

That the true idea of the Eucharist involves much more than is implied in the notion of a memorial rite is the opinion of Dr. Waterland. He very justly observes: 'But there may be danger of under commenting, as well as of interpreting too high; and men may recede so far from the letter as altogether

to dilute the meaning or break its force. As nothing but necessity can warrant us in going from the letter at all, we ought not to go farther than such necessity requires. There appears to be something very solemn and awful in our Lord's pointed words, "This is my body," and "This is my blood." Had He intended no more than a bare commemoration or representation, it might have been sufficient to have said, "Eat this bread broken, and drink this wine poured out, in remembrance of me and my passion," without declaring in that strong manner that the bread and wine are his body and blood, at the same time commanding his disciples to take them as such. We ought to look out for some as high and significant a meaning as the nature of the thing can admit of, in order to answer such emphatical words and gestures.'—*Dr. Waterland's Works*, vol. vii. p. 148.

CHAPTER II.

WE shall now proceed to develope another and very different view of the Sacrament: that which has been upheld by Mede and Cudworth and their followers. They define the Eucharist to be *Epulum Sacrificiale*, a feast upon or after a Sacrifice. If the Eucharist be a feast after sacrifice, it must necessarily include the idea of commemoration also; for how could there be a feast after a sacrifice in which that sacrifice was not commemorated?

We quote Mede's own words first; for no authority can stand higher than his, even with many of those who do not accept all his views. He thus limits and defines a sacrifice:—

‘Every sacrifice is an oblation or offering, but every offering is not a sacrifice, for *tithes* and *first fruits* are oblations and offerings, and none of them sacrifices, nor ever so called in the Old Testament. What offerings are then called sacrifices? I answer, *burnt offerings*, *sin offerings*, *trespass offerings*, and *peace offerings*.’

The following is Mede's definition of a sacrament: ‘An offering unto the Divine Majesty of that which is given for the food of man; that the offerer partaking thereof might, as by way of pledge, be certified of his acceptation into covenant and fellowship with his God, by eating and drinking at his table, &c. . . .’

‘In a word, a sacrifice is *oblatio** *federalis*, for the true and right understanding whereof, we must know, that it was the universal custom of mankind, and still remains in use, to contract covenants and make leagues and friendship by eating and drinking together.’

‘When Isaac made a covenant with Abimelech, King of Gerar, we read, “Let us make a covenant with thee. . . . And he made them a feast, and

* ‘The Socinians, in general, are adversaries to this *federal* doctrine, as not consistent with their principles, yet some of them unawares (such is the force of truth) have been observed to come into it, or to drop such expressions as appear tantamount. Crellius in particular (who was a great refiner of the Socinian system) scruples not to allow that as in *Circumcision* formerly, so likewise in *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* now, men bind themselves to the observance of the divine law, as by a pledge of their obedience, which, if admitted, does, of course, imply a reciprocal engagement on God’s part to confer spiritual blessings and privileges, so that this concession does in plain consequence amount to declaring both sacraments to be *federal* rites.

‘Socinus being aware that the ancient sacrifices were *federal* rites, and that they were as seals and pledges of a covenant between God and the people; and being aware also that our Lord in the institution of the Eucharist had called the wine the *blood of the covenant*, was distressed for a reason why the Eucharist should not be esteemed a *federal* rite as well as those sacrifices. At length he thought to account for it by saying that to the blood of the sacrifices answers the *real* blood of Christ upon the cross, and not the wine in the Lord’s Supper. To which Dr. Pelling replies thus: “Though we grant what Socinus affirms, that it is not the wine but the blood of Christ which answers to the ancient sacrifices; yet since the wine is the *representation* and *communication* of Christ’s blood, we must conclude that it *communicates* those benefits for which that blood was shed; and consequently that it seals the covenant to every faithful communicant in particular, which the blood of Christ sealed to all mankind in general. And as it is true that our Saviour’s passion did answer those sacrifices which were offered up of old, so it is true also, that this *holy banquet* doth answer to those sacrificial feasts which were used of old.”—*Dr. Waterland’s Works*, vol. vii. p. 338.

they did eat and drink" (Gen. xxvi. 28, 30). When Jacob made a covenant with Laban, after they had sworn together, *he made him a feast, and called his brethren to eat bread* (Gen. xxxi. 54). When David made a league with Abner upon his promise to bring all Israel unto him, *David made Abner and all the men that came with him a feast* (2 Sam. iii. 20). Hence in the Hebrew tongue a covenant is called בְּרִית from בָּרָה to eat, as if they should say an eating.*

'Now for the Gentiles, Herodotus tells us the Persians were wont to contract leagues and friendship *inter vinum et epulas*, in a full feast. The like Tacitus reports of the Germans.† Amongst the Greeks and other nations, the covenanters ate bread and salt together. Moreover, the Egyptians, Thracians, and Libyans in special, are said to have used to make leagues and contract friendship by presenting a cup of wine one to another, which custom we find in use among the Western nations.'

'Such now as were these covenant feastings, and

* Professor Lee, the celebrated Orientalist, agrees with Mede, and, following the better and more ancient authorities, derives בְּרִית *berith*, from בָּרָה *bara*, 'to eat,' because among the Orientals to eat together is equivalent to a covenant, if not of amity, at least of peace. And this custom, as every traveller in the East knows, prevails among the Arabs to this day. The man, who would without scruple rob and murder a stranger met with abroad in the desert, would protect him with his life, if that stranger had partaken of his hospitality, and eaten of the 'Covenant of Salt' with him. So also Grotius on Matthew.

† 'Apud Græcos aliasque gentes usurpabatur, ut qui victimas offerrent, de earum carne epularentur; sive id ab Hebræorum exemplo originem traxit, seu, quod est probabilius, a communium parentum institutis.'—Grotius in *Matth.* xxvi. 26.

eatings and drinkings in token of league and amity between men and men, such are sacrifices between man and God. *Epulæ federales*, or federal feasts, wherein God deigneth to entertain man to eat and drink before Him, in token of favour and reconciliation. If any shall object that the holocaust was wholly burned and consumed, and so nobody partakes thereof, I answer, It is true, the beast that was slain was wholly burned, but there was a *meat-offering* and a *drink-offering* annexed thereunto as a part of the holy feast, of which a handful only was burned for a memorial, the remainder was for the priests to eat in the holy place. Besides, burnt-offerings were regularly accompanied with peace-offerings (as you shall find them in Scripture) ordinarily joined together. Now in these, the people that offered had the greatest share. In a word, *that those who offered sacrifice*, both among Jews and Gentiles, *were partakers of the same*, is a thing to be taken for granted, as appears by the warning God gave the Israelites (Exod. xxxiv. 12, 15); also by that (Psalm cvi. 28); by that of St. Paul (Heb. xiii. 10). So of this there can be no question.

‘It remains only that we prove, that these sacred *Epulæ* were *Epulæ federales*, federal feasts, and so our definition will stand good. Now this will appear, first in general, by that expression of Scripture, wherein the *Covenant* which God makes with man is expressed by *eating and drinking* at his Table (Luke xiii. 26). Those to whom the Lord opens not, plead for themselves: “We have eaten and drunk in thy presence,

and Thou hast taught us in our streets," &c., and again (chap. xxii. 29, 30) our Saviour tells his disciples,—“I appoint you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto Me: that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom.” Apoc. iii. 20,—“Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in unto him and will sup with him and he with Me.”

‘But these passages, you will say, show rather how fitly sacrifices might be feasts of amity between God and men, than prove they were so indeed. Hear, therefore, such proofs as come home, I think, to the point.

‘First,—Every sacrifice, saith our Saviour (Mark ix. 49), is salted with salt. This salt is called (Levit. ii. 13) the salt of the Covenant of God, that is, a symbol of the perpetuity thereof. Now if the salt which seasoned the sacrifice were *Sal Fæderis Dei*, the salt of the Covenant of God, what was the sacrifice itself but *Epulum fæderis*, the feast of the Covenant? *

‘Secondly,—Moses calls the blood of the burnt offerings and peace offerings wherewith he sprinkled the children of Israel when they received the law, the blood of the Covenant which the Lord had

* Fagius confirms Mede's view:—

‘Dicitur sal fæderis Dei, quod Deus exigit tanquam firmissimum fœdus, ut sal in quavis Mincha adhibeatur; et alius firma pacta dicuntur pacta salis, *Numer.* xviii. Hanc cerimoniam, a Patribus acceptam, etiam Ethnici in suis sacris observarunt, nulla enim sacra conficiebantur apud eos sine mola salsa.’—F. Fagius in *Levit.* ii.

made with them. "This is," says he, "the blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you" (Exod. xxiv. 8).

'Thirdly,—But above all, this may most evidently be evinced out of the fiftieth Psalm, the whole argument whereof is concerning sacrifices; there God saith, verse 5, "Gather my saints together, unto Me, which make Covenant with Me by sacrifice פָּרִיתִי בְּרִיתִי עִלְיָזְבָּח.

'And verse 16, of the sacrifices of the wicked and such as amend not their lives: "Unto the wicked," God saith, "what hast thou to do, to declare my statutes and to take my Covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction." Statutes here are rites and ordinances, and particularly those of sacrifice, which who-so bringeth unto God, and thereby supplicates and calls upon his Name, is said to take the Covenant of God in his mouth; forasmuch as to invoke God with this rite was to do it by way of commemoration of his Covenant, and to say, Remember, Lord, thy Covenant, and for thy Covenant's sake, Lord, hear my prayer and supplication. Whereby appears the reason why mankind from the beginning of the world used to approach their God by this rite of sacrificing, that is, *ritu fæderali*, by a federal rite.

'Fourthly,—I add in this last place for a further confirmation yet, that when God was to make a Covenant with Abram (Gen. xv.) He commanded him to offer Him a sacrifice. "Offer unto Me," saith He (so it should be turned, *i.e.* translated), "a heifer, a she-goat and a ram, each of three years old, a turtle dove,

and a young pigeon." All which he offered accordingly and *divided* them in the midst, laying each piece or moiety one against the other; and when the sun went down, God, in the likeness of a smoking furnace and burning lamp, *passed between the pieces*, and so (as the text says) *made a Covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land.* By which rite of *passing between the parts* God condescended to the manner of men.'

This casual remark of Mede, 'that God *condescended* to the manner of men,' will be found of the very highest moment in the discussion of the true nature of the sacraments. That God accommodated his ordinances to the customs, habits, manners, nay even to the prejudices of his chosen people, and that this principle of *condescension*, as it is called by Mede, pervaded the laws and institutions established for their government and guidance, must be assumed as a fundamental truth.

'Here take notice,' continues Mede, 'that all those bloody sacrifices of the Law were *Federal Rites*, or *Epulæ fæderales*, as the Eucharist also is, namely, that they were oblations wherein the offerer (either by himself or his proxy the priest) banqueted, or ate and drank, with his God, in token of Covenant and reconciliation with Him. So that to approach God with this rite, was to do it by way of commemoration or *renewing* of a Covenant with Him.*

* 'It may be asked, why *verbal* professions or *repeated* acknowledgments may not amount to a *renewal* of a covenant as much as a *sacrament*. The reason is plain. *Verbal* professions are not the *federal form* pre-

‘Having thus seen what is the nature of a sacrifice, and wherein the ratio or essential form thereof consisteth, it will not be hard to judge, whether the ancient Christians did rightly in giving the Eucharist that name or not, for that the Lord’s Supper is *Epulum fœderale*, a federal feast, we all grant, and our Saviour expressly affirms it of the Cup in the institution, This Cup is the rite of the New Covenant in my Blood, which is poured out for many for the remission of sins; evidently implying, that the bloody sacrifices of the law, with their meat and drink offering, were rites of an *old Covenant*, and that this succeeded them as the rite of the *new*: that this was constructed with the blood

scribed; and, besides, at the most, they amount only to verbal engagements, and that but upon one side, and therefore express no *mutual* contract. In short, sacraments are transactions of two parties, wherein God bears a share as well as man, and where the visible signs have an inseparable conjunction with the invisible graces signified. Verbal professions come far short of this. They cannot be accepted as a *renewal* of a covenant.

‘It may be pleaded, perhaps, that *repentance* is the best *renewal* of our covenant, and is more properly so than any *Sacrament* can be. But on the other hand, it is certain that repentance is rather a *qualification* on our part *for* renewing than a *form* or *rite* of renewal, and it expresses only what *man* does, not what God does at the same time; and therefore it amounts not to a mutual contract. The *terms* of a covenant ought to be distinguished from *acts* of covenanting, and the *things* stipulated from the *stipulation* itself, or from the *federal forms*. To be short, repentance is properly the *renewal* of the *man*; but the *renewal* of a *covenant* is quite another thing, and must include the reciprocal acts of both parties. It is very wrong to argue, that any act or performance of *one party* only can be *federal* like a sacrament which takes in both, and includes both *part* and *counterpart*. But the aim seems to be to throw God’s part out of the Sacraments, and then indeed they would not be federal rites, no, nor Sacraments in any just sense.’—*Dr. Waterland’s Works*, vol. vii. p. 339.

of beeves, sheep, and goats, but this is founded in the Blood of Christ. This parallel is so plain as I think none will deny it.'—*Mede's Works*, folio, p. 372.

Such are Mede's views on the origin and nature of the Eucharist. We have been compelled to abridge his arguments, and to omit much of his imposing array of authorities and illustrations, both scriptural and patristic. We shall see, as we proceed, in what respect Mede and Cudworth differ in their views of the oblation in the Sacrament.

Cudworth's treatise on the Lord's Supper * was accepted in his own day and long afterwards, as a masterly statement of the doctrine of the Eucharist considered as a sacrificial feast. In our own times, this ancient doctrine of the Church has been quite obscured by Romanising and Socinian views.

Cudworth commences his argument by stating that 'The right notion of that Christian feast called the

* In 1642, we are told by Cudworth's biographer, 'he published his discourse concerning the true nature of the Lord's Supper. It was printed in London, in 4to, with only the initial letters of his name. Bochart, Spencer, Selden, and other eminent writers quote this discourse with great commendations; and my most ingenious and learned friend, Mr. Warburton [Bishop Warburton], in a letter of excellent remarks upon our author, which he favoured me with, styles it a masterpiece in its kind; and observes that he has undoubtedly given the true nature and idea of the Sacrament, and supported it with all his learning.'—*Life and Writings of Dr. Cudworth*, by T. Burch, M.A. and F.R.S.

'The favourable reception which Dr. Cudworth's notion of the Lord's Supper had met with amongst our own divines all along till very lately, and also among very considerable divines abroad (both Lutheran and Reform), is a great commendation of it.'—*Waterland's Works*, vol. vii. p. 337.

Lord's Supper, in which we eat and drink the body and blood of Christ that was once offered up to God for us, is to be derived from analogy to that ancient rite among the Jews, of feasting upon things sacrificed, and eating of those things which they had offered up unto God.' He then proceeds to show, that though the Jewish sacrifices were generally divided into four classes—as Mede had already shown—they might, with propriety, be reduced to three. The first class contains such as were wholly offered up to God, and burnt upon the altar, which were the holocausts, or burnt offerings. In the second class are comprised those wherein, besides something offered up to God upon the altar, the priests had also a part to eat of. And these are subdivided into the sin offerings and the trespass offerings. In the third class will be found those sacrifices in which a part was offered to God, a part assigned to the priests, while the remainder was eaten by those who had offered the sacrifice. These were called שלמים *Shelamim*, or peace offerings, because these sacrifices brought peace to the altar, the priests, and the owners, in that every one had a share in them.

'Now, with respect to the holocausts, or whole burnt offerings, although they were themselves (Num. xv. 3) wholly offered up to God, and burnt upon the altar, yet they had ever peace offerings regularly annexed to them (Num. xv. 3) when they were not offerings for the whole congregation, but for any particular person, that so the owners might at the same time, when they

offered up to God, feast also upon the sacrifices. And with regard to the second class, or sin offerings, though the owners did not themselves eat of these, they did it by the priests, who, as their proxies, did eat of the sacrifices for them. But in the peace offerings, because such as brought them had no uncleanness upon them (Lev. vii. 20), and so were perfectly reconciled to God, and in covenant with Him, therefore they were in their own persons to eat of those sacrifices which they had offered unto God as a federal rite between God and them. So then the *eating* of the sacrifices was a due and proper appendix unto *all* sacrifices, one way or other, and either by the priests or themselves, when the person that offered was capable thereof. Wherefore we shall find in the Scriptures, that eating of the sacrifices is brought in continually as a rite belonging to sacrifice in general.*

This, Cudworth proceeds to show in the following instances. Exod. xxxiv. 15: 'In this passage God commands the Jews, that when they came into the land of Canaan, they should destroy the altars and

* To the same purport see Grotius on Leviticus and Daniel:—

'De hostiis pacificis licebat, post effusum sanguinem, privatis qui obtulerant eorumque uxoribus et liberis, epulari, in signum amicitiae cum Deo. Id in oblatione Simulæ non licebat; quia id inter privilegia erat sacerdotalia: nec in victimis pro peccato et delicto, ne de culpa letarentur.'—Grotius *in Lev.* iii. 1.

'Causa cur Daniel pane vinoque regio abstinerit, non alia est, quam quod moris est illis gentibus partem de pane et de vino injicere in aram, aut si ara non adesset, in focum vice aræ, atque eo modo diis suis consecrare totum illud quod erant comesturi.'—Grotius *in Dan.* i. 8.

images, and all the monuments of idolatry among those heathens, thus, "lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and one call thee and thou *eat* of his sacrifice," which, indeed, afterwards came to pass (see Num. xxv. 2): "They called the people to the sacrifice of their gods, and their people did *eat*, and bow down to their gods;" or, as it is cited in Psalm cvi. 28, "They joined themselves unto Baal-peor and *ate* the sacrifice of the dead." *

'When Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, came to him

* Dr. J. H. Kurtz, Professor of Theology at Dorpat, in his work, *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, gives a fuller and more exact account of those sacrifices.

THE SIN-OFFERING, BURNT-OFFERING, AND PEACE-OFFERING.

The first thing which we select as distinguishing these three kinds of sacrifice is the *difference in the ritual*. The presentation, imposition of hands, and slaughtering were the same in all. But in the remaining functions, the *sprinkling of the blood*, the *burning*, and the *sacrificial meal*, we find characteristic differences, inasmuch as each one of these three stands out by itself as a peculiarly emphasised and prominent feature in one of the three kinds of sacrifice. The *sprinkling of the blood* was the culminating point in the *sin offering*. In the others it evidently fell into the background, the blood being merely poured around upon the altar; but in the sin offerings it acquired an incomparably greater significance: so indefinite and vague an application of the blood appeared insufficient, and the horns of the altar of burnt offering, in which the whole worth of the altar culminated, were appointed as the object on which the blood was to be sprinkled. In some cases, indeed, even this appeared insufficient, and the blood was taken into the Holy Place, when it was sprinkled upon the horns of the altar of incense, towards the curtain even before the Caphoreth, and sometimes even upon the Caphoreth itself in the Most Holy Place.

The *act of burning*, again, was the culminating point in the *burnt offering*. The gradations in this act were not shown, as in the sprinkling of blood, by an increase in intensity, but by an increase in amount. For whilst in other kinds of sacrifice only certain select portions were laid upon the altar, in this the animal was entirely burnt. Lastly, the

(Exod. xviii. 12), "he took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God; and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, *to eat bread* before the Lord:" by sacrifices there are meant peace offerings, as Aben-Ezra and the Targum well expound it, which, we said before, were regularly joined with burnt offerings.

'So Exod. xxxii. When the Israelites worshipped the golden calf, the text saith that Aaron built an altar before it, and made a proclamation, saying, "To-morrow is a *feast* unto the Lord (see how the altar and feast were akin to one another), and they rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt

sacrificial feast was the main point and real characteristic of the *peace offering*. In the case of the burnt offering, when everything was burnt, this could not possibly take place; and in that of the sin offering, not only was it not allowed, but every one, except a priest, was strictly prohibited from even touching the flesh (Lev. vi. 27).

From this we obtain a by no means unimportant and distinguishing characteristic of the sacrifices. What we have already found to be the import of the sprinkling of the blood was the special object of the *sin offering*, viz., expiation, justification. All the rest fell into the background beside this sharply defined purpose. In the *burnt offering* the burning was the culminating point; and if the design of this act was no other than to give expression to the consciousness of the duty of sanctified self-surrender to Jehovah, this was also the chief purpose of this kind of sacrifice: it was the sacrifice of entire, full, unconditional self-surrender. In the *peace offering*, the feast was the principal feature; and if this represented the most intimate fellowship with Jehovah, friendly intercourse, home and table companionship with Him, we must seek in this the object and end of the sacrifice. The same progressive stages, therefore, which distinguished redemption and its symbolical correlate, the complete idea of sacrifice, incorporated themselves as it were into these three *varieties* of sacrifice: the stage of atonement, of *justificatio*, in the sin offering; that of *sanctificatio*, in the burnt offering; and that of Sacramental fellowship, of the *unio mystica*, in the peace offering.—P. 174.

offerings, and brought peace offerings (see how the burnt offerings and peace offerings are united), and the people *sat down to eat and drink*," for this was no common eating, but the eating of those sacrifices which were offered up to the golden calf.'

'In the 1 Sam. i. 3, it is said of Elkanah, that "he went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice to the Lord of hosts in Shiloh: and when the time was come that he offered, he gave to Peninnah his wife, and to all her sons and daughters, PORTIONS, and unto Hannah he gave a double PORTION:" that is, portions to eat of those sacrifices that had been offered up to God, as R. David Kimchi notes. And in the ninth chapter of the same book, when Saul was seeking Samuel, going towards the city he met some maidens that told him that Samuel was come to the city, for there was a sacrifice for the people that day in the high place. "As soon, say they, as you come into the city, you shall find him before he go up to the high place to EAT, for the people will not EAT until he come, because he doth bless the sacrifice." Where though the word *bamah* properly signifies a high place or place of sacrifice, whence the Greek word *βωμὸς* is thought to be derived, yet it is here rendered by the Targum, as often elsewhere, *בֵּית אֲסֻבְרוּחָא*, *domus accubitus*, a house of feasting, —because feasting and sacrificing were such general concomitants of one another.

'So again in the 16th chapter, Samuel went to Bethlehem to anoint David: "I am come (saith he) to sacrifice to the Lord: sanctify yourselves, and come

with me to the sacrifice." But when he understood that Jesse's youngest son was absent, he saith to Jesse, 'Send and fetch him, for we will not SIT DOWN until he come.'

'So I understand that of the Sichemites, according to the judgment of the Jewish doctors, Judg. ix. 29, "They went into the house of their god, and did EAT AND DRINK, and cursed Abimelech," that is, they went into the house of their god to sacrifice, and did eat and drink of the sacrifice.'

'Thus likewise the Hebrew Scholiasts expound that in the 16th chapter of the same book, verse 23, concerning the Philistines, when they had put out Samson's eyes,—They met together to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to REJOICE, that is in feasting on the sacrifices.'

'Hence it is, that the idolatry of the Jews, in worshipping other gods, is so often described under the notion of feasting. Isa. lvii. 7: "Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou SET THY BED; and thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice." For in those ancient times they were not wont to sit at feasts, but lie down on beds and couches." Ezek. xxiii.: "You sent for men from far, Sabeans from the wilderness (i.e. idolatrous priests from Arabia), and lo, they came for whom thou didst wash thyself, and satest upon a stately bed, with a table prepared before thee." Again, Amos ii. 8: "They laid themselves down to eat of the sacrifice that was offered on the altar." And in Ezek. xviii. 11, eating upon the mountains seems to be put for sacrificing upon

the mountains, because it was a constant appendix to it : “ He that hath not done any of these things but hath even eaten upon the mountains,” i.e. hath worshipped idols on the mountains, as the Targum renders it. Lastly, St. Paul makes eating of the sacrifice a general appendix of the altar (Heb. xii. 10), “ We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat that serve the tabernacle.” ’

Cudworth next proceeds to show that a like custom prevailed among the heathen nations of antiquity. He quotes a saying of Isaac Abarbanel, a learned Jew who stated in one of his works, that in those ancient times, whosoever sacrificed to idols made a feast upon the sacrifice.

‘ From this custom of the heathens feasting upon sacrifices arose that famous controversy in the primitive times, sometimes disputed in the New Testament, whether it were lawful *ἑσθίειν εἰδωλόθυστα*, to eat things sacrificed to idols.’

‘ These Gentile feasts upon the sacrifices were usually celebrated in the temple, as may be inferred from the well-known story of Cleobis and Biton, as told by Herodotus.* But it is very apparent from that passage of St. Paul (1 Cor. viii. 10), “ If any man see thee, which hast knowledge, sit at meat *ἐν εἰδωλείῳ*,” in the idol’s temple. If anything were left, when these sacrificial feasts were ended, they were wont to carry portions of them home to their friends ; and if the sacrifice were large, so that the flesh which remained after its

* Herod. i. 31.

oblation could not be consumed within the legal three days by the priests and offerers,* it was exposed for sale in the market-place as idol-meat, or *μειλδες*, or, as Festus calls them, *strobula*.† St. Augustine, in his commentary on Rom. ii., states that these relics of the idol feasts were sometimes sold in the market, whence the injunction of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 25): "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, eat, asking no questions for conscience sake." That they might not knowingly eat idol meat, they were to endeavour to know nothing of its antecedents.

'I will shut up all this with one observation more, that as we said of the Jews, that in the wilderness they did eat no meat, but of that which they had first sacrificed, in like manner the heathens were wont to sacrifice before all their feasts; whence it is that Athenæus observes: Feasts among the ancient heathens were ever accounted sacred and religious things. And thus we must understand that speech of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 27, "If anyone that believes not, invite you, and you be disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake;" that is, you must not ask whence your host procured the meat set

* 'Some sacrifices were to be eaten the day they were offered. The peace offerings were to be eaten before the third day; after the third day they were to be burned. They were an abomination to be eaten, as being no longer a type of Christ's sacrifice.'—*Mede's Works*, p. 51.

† 'Ethnici ex reliquis hostiæ partibus cœnam apparabant, quibus, qui sacris interfuisent, vesci solebant. Hæ partes sive portiones a Græcis *μειλδες*, a Latinis interdum *Missæ* fuerunt appellatæ. Has autem cum præsentibus distribuere, tum absentibus quoque mittere consueverunt. Festus quoque testatur omnium carniū sacrificatarum partes *strobula* Umbrorum lingua fuisse appellatas.' Stuckius, *Antiq. Convivial.* lib. i. cap. 33.

before you, lest you be told that it had been sacrificed to an idol, and be thus compelled to hurt your conscience or to depart from the feast. Nay, it was accounted a profane thing amongst them to eat any meat at their private tables, whereof they had not first sacrificed to their gods, as appeareth by the Greek proverb, *ἄθυστα ἐσθίειν*, used by Anacreon and others as a brand of a notorious wicked man, viz., one that would eat meat whereof he had not sacrificed.'

In addition to the instances of feasting upon idol sacrifices among the heathens, as quoted by Cudworth, we may subjoin the following passages from ancient and modern writers, which will still more amply prove, were ampler proof necessary, the universality and the antiquity of the custom of 'feasting on things sacrificed.'

Instances of this custom of feasting upon sacrifices are so numerous in heathen authors, that Homer alone were able to furnish sufficient examples.

In the first book of the Iliad, he brings in a description of a hecatomb-sacrifice which Agamemnon prepared for Apollo by his priest Chryses, and a feast that followed immediately after it. In the second Iliad, the same king offers up an ox to Jupiter, and invites several of the Grecian captains to partake of it. In the third book of the Odyssey, Nestor offers a magnificent sacrifice to Neptune on the shore, followed by a feast.

In the eighth book, Alcinoüs offers a bullock to Jupiter, and then follows:—

—— δάμνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα
τερπόμενοι——

σπονδή, a libation, a drink-offering (libatio) of unmixed wine, which was poured out in honour of the gods at feasts, and especially in making treaties: hence in the plur. *σπονδαί*, a solemn league, a covenant. —Crusius in *Hom. Il. ii.* 341.

As the Eucharist is a federal rite between God and man, so it must be supposed to carry in it something that God gives to us, and something also that we give or present unto God. These are as it were the two integral parts of that holy ceremony: the former may properly be called the *sacramental* part, and the latter the *sacrificial*.

"Ορκια, subaud. *lepeia*, the victims and religious rites which were sacrificed and performed at the solemn conclusion of treaties—a covenant sacrifice.—Crusius in *Hom. Il.* iv. 158.

Plato, in the second book of the *De Legibus*, acknowledges these feasts under the name of *εορταὶ μετὰ θεῶν*—feasts after divine worship—offered up to the gods.

"Ορκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τοὺς ἀν ποιέωνται. ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην ὀλον ἐγγχεάντες, . . . καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιεῦμενοι.—Herod. iv. 70.

πευστηρίαν θοινασόμεθα to feast on the sacrifices which had been sent to the oracle on making inquiry.—Eurip. *Electra*, 835.

So Theocritus, *de Cerealis Mysteriis*:

ἄνερ ἐπέπλε Δαμῶτερι δαῖτα τελευντι.

And so also Virgil, *Georgic*. lib. i. 343:

'Cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret,
Cui tu lacte favos, et miti dilue Baccho.'

And again Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 279:

'In mensam læti libant divosque precantur.'

And thus Evander entertains Æneas, *Æn.* viii. 179:

'Tum lecti juvenes certatim aræque sacerdos
Viscera tosta ferunt taurorum.'

So also Macrobius, describing the embellishment of the heathen temples: 'Principem locum obtinet mensa, in qua epulæ libationesque et stipes reponuntur.'

Alexander ab Alexandro thus speaks of the religious rites of the ancients: 'Siquidem in ædibus deorum et epulari simul, et sacrum fieri servatum est: nam mensæ in sacris ædibus ararum vicem præbebant. Quibus quidem extis et carnibus sacrificialibus, nisi rite sacrificio perfecto, vesci non licebat.'—Lib. iv. c. xvii.

'Satis constat hanc et olim fuisse, et nunc quoque esse omnium fere gentium consuetudinem, ut partim sacris quibusdam caerimoniis, liba-

‘The difference between a *sacrifice* and a *sacrament* is well defined by Mede: in the former we give to God, in the latter God gives to us, and we receive of Him. (*Mede's Works*, p. 254.)

‘Now having thus shown, that both amongst the Jews under the law, and the Gentiles in their Pagan worship (for paganism is nothing but Judaism degenerate), it was ever a solemn rite to join feasting with sacrifice, and to *eat* of those things which had been offered up; the very concinnity and harmony of the thing itself leads me to conceive that the Christian feast under the Gospel, called *the Lord's Supper*, is the very same notion in respect of the true Christian sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, that those did to the Jewish and heathenish sacrifices, and so is *epulum*

tionibus atque victimis; partim symposiis adhibitis, fœdera atque contractus . . . stabiliantur atque confirmentur.’—Stuckius, *Antiq. Convivial.* lib. i. cap. xxx.

‘Athenienses quum in aureis et argenteis vasis deis propinassent et pœana cecinissent, tunc demum sanctissimis cœrimoniis cælum suspicientes vota nuncupabant.’—Alex. ab Alex. lib. i. cap. xxii.

‘Apud Persas inter vinum et epulas frequenti convivio, in quo uxores et filios cæterosque quos charos habent tanquam pignora adhibebant, ibique inter sacra mensæ, velut apud hospitales deos fœdera et pacta inibant, eam fidem socialem rati, et mansuræ pacis pignus inviolabile. Qui etiam mos Germanorum fuit, ut de pace et bello, deque fœderibus, societatibus, amicitiiis, sponsalibus et pactis, in conviviis inter pocula decernant.’—Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. dier.* cap. v.

‘Post sacrificia epulari mos erat, et quidem isdem locis ubi sacrificatum fuerat.’—Grotius in *Ezek.* xviii. 6.

‘Nullum fere sacrificium sine aliquo epulo, et vicissim nullum pœne epulum, etiam profanum, publicum præsertim, sine sacris quibusdam ritibus atque cœrimoniis fuit celebratum. Quin ipsa quoque sacrificia quid fuerunt aliud quam quædam quasi epulæ atque convivia? secundum illud poetæ, Epulis accumbere divum.’—Stuckius, *Sacrific. Sacror. descrip*

sacrificiale, a sacrificial feast,—I mean a feast upon sacrifice, or *epulum ex oblatis*, a feast upon things offered up to God,—only this difference arising in the parallel, that because those legal sacrifices were but types and shadows of the true Christian sacrifice, they were often repeated and renewed, as well as the feasts, which were made upon them ; but now the true Christian sacrifice being come, and offered up once for all, never to be repeated, we have, therefore, no more typical sacrifices left amongst us, but only the feasts upon the true sacrifice, still symbolically continued and often repeated, in reference to that *one great sacrifice*, which is always as present in God's sight, and efficacious, as if it were but now offered up for us.'

It seems hardly necessary to enter into a lengthened inquiry, or to elaborate trains of argument, to prove, what is now very generally admitted, that the Passover was in every sense a sacrifice. But since some Protestant writers, especially on the Continent, have denied its sacrificial character, it becomes proper to show that the great divines of the Church of England uphold that view.

Archbishop Magee thus notices the different significations of the word Passover :—

'1. It signifies the *passing-over* of Jehovah, who spared the Israelites when he smote the first-born of the Egyptians.—2. It signifies by a metonymy the *lamb slain* in memory of that deliverance.—3. It signifies the *feast-day* on which the paschal lamb was slain, viz., the fourteenth of the first month.—4. And

lastly, it signifies the entire continuance and the whole employment of the festival, which commenced with the slaying of the lamb and continued for seven days.*

Mede asserts (*Works*, p. 375), 'The Passover was a sacrifice, and therefore the viands here, as in all other holy feasts, were first offered unto God. Now the *bread* and *wine*, which our Saviour took when He blessed and gave thanks, was the Mincha or meat offering of the Passover.'

Cudworth argues as follows: 'The true characteristic of a sacrifice was the sprinkling of blood. Without the sprinkling of the blood, as St. Paul says (Heb. ix. 22), there was no remission. Now in the Passover there was sprinkling of blood. Again, the Passover was called *Korban*† (Num. ix. 7, 13), but nothing was called Korban, an offering, but that which was brought and offered up to God at the tabernacle or temple where his name was put.'

He continues: 'But what need have we of any more dispute? When the Passover was first kept in Egypt, were not the paschal lambs there killed in a sacrificial and expiatory way, when the blood thereof was to be sprinkled upon the houses, for God to look upon and so pass over them? It is true they were killed in every private house, but the reason of that was, because there were priests then in every pri-

* Archbishop Magee, *On the Atonement*, vol. i. p. 207.

† 'Throughout the Bible, from Lev. i. 2 to Mark vii. 11, *Corban* invariably means something offered to God.'—Dr. J. H. Kurtz, *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 363.

vate family, viz., the first-born, which were afterwards redeemed, when the children of Israel gave up the whole tribe of Levi to God for his service.'

'And as Moses commanded the Israelites to say, "It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover" (Exod. xii. 27), so the apostle declared not only that the Passover was a type of Christ in respect of his death, but also that the proper notion of the paschal feast was to be a feast upon sacrifice in these words (1 Cor. v. 7, 8), "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast (that is, the paschal feast upon this sacrificed Christ) with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." Where, alluding to that common Jewish custom of feasting upon sacrifices, of which we have before spoken, he implies that the paschal supper was a feast of the same nature, a sacrificial feast.'

Dr. Waterland draws a remarkable parallel between the Passover and the Eucharist, and shows the numerous analogies which exist between them, as follows:—

'The resembling circumstances common to the Jewish and Christian Passover may be divided into two kinds, some relating to the things themselves, some to the phrases and forms made use of here and there. It may not be improper to present the reader with a brief detail of those resembling circumstances.

'I. The Passover was of divine appointment, and so is the Eucharist.

'II. The Passover was a sacrament, and so is the Eucharist.

‘III. The Passover was a memorial* of a great deliverance from temporal bondage; the Eucharist is a memorial of a greater deliverance from spiritual bondage.

‘IV. The Passover prefigured the death of Christ † before it was accomplished; the Eucharist represents or figures out our Lord’s death now past.

‘V. The Passover was a kind of *fæderal* rite between God and man; so also is the Eucharist.

‘VI. As no one was to eat of the Passover before he had been circumcised, ‡ so no one is to partake of the Eucharist before he has been baptized.

‘VII. As the Jews were obliged to come clean to the Passover, § so are Christians obliged to come well prepared to the Communion.

‘VIII. As slight defilements (where there was no contempt) did not debar a man from the Passover, nor excuse his neglect of it, || so neither do smaller offences, where there is an honest heart, either forbid or excuse a man’s absenting [himself] from this sacrament.

‘IX. As a total contempt or neglect of the Passover was crime great enough to render the offender liable to be cut off from Israel, ¶ so a total contempt or neglect of the Holy Communion is, in effect, to be cut off from Christianity.

* Exod. xii. 14; xiii. 9; Deut. xvi. 3.

† Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* tom. i. lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 415.

‡ Exod. xii. 43–48.

§ Num. ix. 6.

|| Num. ix. 10; 2 Chron. xxx. 18.

¶ Exod. xii. 15; Num. ix. 13.

‘ X. As the Passover was to continue as long as the Jewish law should stand in force, so must the Eucharist abide as long as Christianity.*

‘ XI. In the paschal supper, the master of the house took bread and blessed it in a prayer of thanksgiving to God, and the rule was never to begin the blessing till he had the bread in his hand, that so the prayer of benediction directed to God might, at the same time, be understood to have relation to the bread, and might draw down a blessing upon it.† It is obvious to see how applicable all this is to our Lord's conduct in the first article of the institution.

‘ XII. The breaking of the bread, after benediction, was a customary practice in the Jewish feasts;‡ only in this paschal feast, it is said that the bread was first broken and the benediction followed.

‘ XIII. The distributing the bread to the company, after the benediction and fraction, was customary among the Jews,§ and here, likewise, our Lord was pleased to adopt the like ceremony.

‘ XIV. At the institution of the Passover it was said, “The blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where you are, and when I see the blood I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you.”|| The blood was the token of the covenant in that behalf, between God and his people, as circumcision before

* 1 Cor. xi. 26.

† See Pfaffius, *de Oblat. vet. Eucharist.* p. 171. Buxtorf, *de Cæna Domini*, p. 310.

‡ Buxtorf, p. 313.

§ Ibid. p. 316.

|| Exod. xii. 13.

had been a token also of a like covenant, and called covenant as well as token.* In the institution of the Communion our Lord says, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood which is shed for you, for many, for the remission of sins." The cup is here by a figure put for wine; and covenant, according to ancient Scripture phrase, is put for token of a covenant, and wine representative of Christ's blood answers to the blood of the Passover, typical of the same blood of Christ, and the remission of sins here answers to the passing over them and preserving from plague.

'XV. At the paschal feast there was an annunciation or declaration† of the great things which God had done for that people; in like manner, one design of the Eucharist is to make a declaration of the mercies of God in Christ, to "show the Lord's death till He come."

'XVI. Lastly, at the close of the paschal supper, they were wont to sing a hymn of praise; and the like was observed in the close of the institution of the Christian Eucharist, as is recorded in the gospels.

'The many resembling circumstances, real and verbal, which I have here briefly enumerated, do abundantly show that this holy Eucharist was in a great measure copied from the paschal feast, and was intended to supply its place, only heightening the design and improving the application.'‡

* Gen. xvii. 10. 'This is my *covenant*, and (v. 13) my covenant shall be in your flesh.'

† See Pfaffius, p. 181.

‡ Dr. Waterland's Works, vol. vii. p. 34.

More modern writers take nearly the same view of the Passover as Mede, Cudworth, and Waterland. Thus Professor Kurtz, *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 234 :—

‘The appointment of seven days of *commemoration* for one *historical* day, had its origin simply in the general character of a great festival, into which the commemoration of that one day was to be expanded. A space of seven days, neither more nor less, with the seal of the Covenant number, was essential to the complete exhaustion of the idea of a high festival. But as the eating of the paschal lamb was the one indivisible and *not to be repeated* basis of the whole festival, and yet the festival was to be kept for seven days, this could only be done by the other essential part of the paschal meal, the eating of unleavened bread, being continued for seven days.’

‘There can be no question whatever that by *Philo* and *Josephus*, and in the whole line of Jewish tradition, the paschal lamb was regarded as a sacrifice. And the Apostle Paul also refers to it as a sacrifice in 1 Cor. v. 7 : “For even Christ, our Passover, was sacrificed (*ἐτύθη*) for us.”

‘If, then, the sacrificial character of the paschal lamb must be admitted, the question arises, to which of the classes of sacrifice otherwise occurring in the Mosaic economy does it belong? Strictly speaking, to none of them. For the peculiarity belonging to the purpose of its institution gave a perfectly unique character to many portions of the ritual, with which it was accompa-

nied. It stood nearest no doubt to the *peace offerings*; and since it has all the characteristic marks by which they were distinguished from the rest of the sacrifices, we feel perfectly justified in following nearly all the commentators, both earlier and later, and placing it among the *Shelamim*.

‘It not only has the name *Zebach* (Ex. xii. 27,* and Ex. xxiii. 18), which is applied in the Pentateuch exclusively to the peace offerings, but it has also the sacrificial meal in common with them alone; and the directions in Ex. xii. 10, as to what was to be done with the flesh that remained over from the meal, correspond to those given with regard to what remained from the praise offering, the most important description of peace offering. . . .

‘If, then, the paschal lamb was a sacrifice, the *paschal meal* must be regarded as a sacrificial meal, and the same significance ascribed to it as to every other sacrificial meal, viz., to set forth that fellowship with God which the sacrificial expiation had secured. . . .

‘The further command, *that not a bone of the lamb was to be broken* (verse 46), had a corresponding meaning. Of course what is meant is simply dissection for the purpose of cooking, not for eating. The lamb was to be placed upon the table as a perfect undivided whole: the unity

* The other name זֶבַח or slain offering, which is restricted in the Pentateuch to the *peace offerings*, also points to the sacrificial meal. The verb זָבַח, for example, denotes the slaughtering of an animal with express reference to the meal which it is to furnish, especially the sacrificial meal, whilst slaughtering is generally expressed by טָבַח, and נֶשֶׁחַ contains no allusion to a meal at all.—*Kurtz*, p. 254.

represented in this way by the lamb, was transferred in a certain sense, by the act of eating, to those who partook of it. By eating of the one lamb, as a divine repast at the table of God, as his house and table guests, they were joined together in a unity based upon the same fellowship with God' (1 Cor. x. 17).

And nearly to the same purpose M. Kalisch:—

. 'It is thus clear, that Passover was always considered as pre-eminent among the national festivals of Israel, both on account of its political importance, and its solemn religious character. It is considered second to no precept except circumcision; it has the significance of a sacrament; it was formerly the only expiatory sacrifice which every Israelite could offer personally without the mediation of the priest; thus the Paschal lamb shewed manifestly Israel as "a kingdom of priests;" it connected the individual with God, as a member of the chosen community, and with his brethren as leading to the same Divine Sovereignty. It is undoubtedly a "sacrifice;" and belongs to the category of the שלמים; it is a peace offering and thank-offering, and the annual renewal of the national convention between God and Israel; it was celebrated as a festival of liberty or redemption.'—M. Kalisch, *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament*, *Exod.* p. 183.

'It may be a piece of justice,' continues Waterland, 'due to a great man, and to an important cause, to examine fairly, but as briefly as may be, the strength of

what has been objected to a prevailing notion, which for some time appeared, and still appears, to carry in it the features of truth. The notion, in short, is this, that the Eucharist, considered in its spiritual and mystical view, *is a feast upon a sacrifice* (viz., the sacrifice once offered upon the cross), bearing some analogy to the Jewish sacrificial feasts, which were figures or shadows of this true spiritual feeding. For as these were banquets upon typical sacrifices, this is a banquet upon the real sacrifice, to which they pointed. And as these banquets were federal directly with respect to the legal covenant, so is this banquet federal with respect to the evangelical covenant, formerly couched under the legal one.'

'A learned German divine, Pfaffius, in 1715, objected to Cudworth's theory, that Christ was properly a *sin-offering*, answering to the Levitical sacrifices of that kind, which were never feasted upon: therefore the Eucharistical banquet does not aptly correspond to the sacrificial feasts which were appropriate to peace-offerings, but belonged not to sin-offerings. But the answer to this is very short and obvious: Christ our Lord was a sin-offering and a peace-offering, both in one; as is plainly taught by St. Paul (Ephes. v. 2).*

And if the sacrifice of Christ be considered

* St. Paul, representing our Lord as a sacrifice, selects those very terms that are used to designate 'peace-offerings,' and their consequent oblations:—

'Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering, and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.'

in the Eucharist under its most comfortable, most endearing view, as a peace-offering (not excluding the other views), have we any reason to object against so wise and so kind an institution? To represent the sacrifice of Christ merely as a sin-offering would be representing nothing but the melancholy and dismal part of it, which had not the *sweet odour*, the *sweet-smelling savour* accompanying it. Dr. Cudworth's notion of a sacrificial feast goes upon the more delightful view, as St. Paul's also does in the text before referred to. Therefore there is no more room for objecting, in this respect, against our learned author, than there is for objecting against the blessed apostle.'

'I proceed to observe that God has, time after time, transacted covenants with men, and under various formalities. There was a *covenant of life* made with man in Paradise, in his state of innocency, which commonly goes under the name of the first covenant or old covenant, and which continued for a very short space. To that immediately succeeded the second covenant, or *new covenant*, called also the covenant of grace, and made with lapsed man, in and through Christ Jesus. It commenced from old time, in the world's infancy, as St. Paul testifies (Tit. i. 2), *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων*, before ancient times, though not clearly revealed nor fully executed till the days of the Gospel, but considered as executed from the beginning, so far forth as to be available for the remission of sin, in all ages, to men fitly qualified according to the terms of it.'

‘ Besides these two eminent and general covenants, God entered into other and *inferior*, or more special, covenants (together with renewals also of this), as with Noah,* with Abraham,† with Isaac, with Jacob, with Moses and Aaron, and with Phineas, and their families after them. The *legal covenant*, or *Sinai covenant*, was made between God and the Israelites, by the hand of Moses. It was in itself a temporal covenant, containing only temporal promises, but in its retired mystical meaning it figured out the spiritual covenant before made, and was a shadow of good things to come. That external covenant (representing as through a glass darkly the internal) was often renewed with the people of the Hebrews, as in the time of Joshua, at Sichem, and in the reigns of Asa and of Ahab; and of Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah. This I note to obviate a common mistake, as if, because a covenant has been once granted and fixed on God’s part, it may not be properly said to be re-granted or renewed with a fleeting body of men as new generations come up. Indeed, it seems highly expedient that such covenants should be renewed frequently, because the men coming up in succession are *new*, though God is always the *same*, and it is proper that the contracting parties should make it their own act and deed. The stipulations which I have now been speaking of were between God and his people *collectively* considered. But, besides, there were also standing forms of covenanting between God and

* Gen. vi. 18; ix. 9-18.

† Gen. xii. 2, 3; xv. 18; xvii. 2-22.

particular persons. Such were sacrifices in general, and such were the sacraments of the old law, and more especially *Circumcision* and the *Passover*, to which the Christian sacraments succeeded.'

'That sacrifices were federal rites is a point generally allowed by the learned, and which I need not here be at the pains to prove. What I shall more particularly insist on shall be the Jewish sacraments previous to ours, the two most eminent just before named.'

'I begin with Circumcision; which was manifestly a federal rite, a formal stipulation between God and man; carrying in it mutual engagements of blessings on one hand and service on the other. It is said of circumcision, "This is my covenant," &c., and "it shall be a token of the covenant;" and a little after, "My covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant;" and the "uncircumcised *shall be cut off* as having broken my covenant." All which imply that it was a covenanting rite, a contract or stipulation, passed between two parties, namely, between God and man. But for the clearer apprehending of this matter we may consider in circumcision, as in every other sacrament, a *sign* and a *thing signified*, or *both together* as one transaction. If the name be applied to the bare sign, then circumcision is not a stipulation, but the *token* of it; and if it be applied to the thing signified, it means the terms of agreement; but if it be applied to the whole transaction between both parties, then it is formally the contract or stipulation

entered into. So that, according to different views, the word "circumcision" may either stand for the sign, token, seal of the contract, or for the contract itself passing under those forms.'

'The other ordinary sacrament of the Jewish Church was the Passover. That it was a federal rite I have already argued from several topics which I shall barely touch upon in passing. (1) From its being a proper sacrifice, a point now concluded among the learned, and scarce admitting of any further dispute; (2) from its typical and mysterious nature pointing to Christ and his sufferings, and the fruits thereof,' &c.

'From the Jewish sacraments we may pass on to the Christian sacraments analogous to them. That Baptism is a federal rite, a formal stipulation between God and the party baptized, might be probably argued many ways. But for brevity sake I shall confine myself to the consideration of one express text, which I render thus: "The like figure whereunto baptism doth now save us: not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the stipulation [*ἐπερώτημα*] of a good conscience to Godward, by the resurrection of Christ." * Here we have the very doctrine which I am pleading for, that baptism is a federal rite, a stipulation with God. Having thus far cleared the way, we may now proceed to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the last of the four. And since it appears that the three former sacraments were federal rites, that single consideration affords a presumptive argument that this is so likewise.'

* 1 Pet. iii. 21.

‘ But there are several other considerations that more directly prove it.

‘(1) That the Eucharistical service is a federal service, follows directly from what has been before proved, that it imparts and implies a real and vital communion between God and every worthy receiver. For what can communion, in this case, import less than covenanting ; the least that it implies is a reciprocal intercourse of blessings on one hand, and homage on the other, which, in effect, is the same thing with mutual stipulations.

‘(2) The federal nature of the Eucharist may be farther argued from what learned men have shown of the customs of divers nations, in drinking either blood, or wine instead of blood, for the ratifying of covenants. Such kind of drinking was a noted federal rite long before the institution of the Eucharist ; a consideration which, taken alone, affords a strong presumptive argument of the federal nature of this sacrament; but if taken together with our Lord’s own comment upon it, in the words, “ Drink ye all of this, for this is the new covenant,” &c., can leave but little room for any reasonable dispute about it.

‘(3) But we may argue still more directly from our Lord’s own words : “ This cup, or wine, is my blood of the new covenant,” and “ This is the new covenant in my blood.” I render *διαθήκη*, *covenant*, rather than *testament*, because such appears to be the constant use of it in the Septuagint, as also in the New Testament. Indeed, either the name of testament, or the name of

covenant, is applicable to the same thing considered under different views,' &c.

'Our Lord's expressions in the institution are plainly federal expressions, as will appear by comparing them with other the like expressions made use of in the Old Testament in federal solemnities. When God instituted the federal rite of circumcision, He said, "This is my covenant which ye shall keep." Therefore as surely as circumcision was a federal rite of the Jewish Church, so surely is it that the Eucharist is a federal solemnity among Christians. When God established a covenant with the Hebrews, by the sprinkling of blood, the form ran, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made," &c.; as much as to say, Look upon yourselves as obliged by these federal solemnities to observe all the commands which I have here delivered. Accordingly it is observable, that the people then instantly promised and engaged "to do all that the Lord had said, and to be obedient." Now, as our blessed Lord, in the institution of the Eucharist, addressed himself to Jews,* who had been accustomed to such federal phrases, it is highly reasonable to believe that He intended the phrases in such sense as they were likely to take them—namely, in a federal sense.'

'Socinus, to elude this argument, pretends that our Lord's words in that case may mean only that this

* 'Christus hoc loco non pro veteri tantum creatione, sed et pro novâ, cujus ergo in hunc orbem venerat, preces fudit gratiasque Deo egit pro redemptione humani generis quasi jam peractâ.'—Grotius in *Matth.* xxvi. 26.

sacramental cup or wine is a *memorial* or *commemoration* of the blood once shed, and of the covenant therein founded. Now since it is manifest from the express doctrine of the apostle, that the Eucharist is not barely a memorial, but a communion also of the blood, and of what goes along with it, it will undeniably follow that the same Eucharist is not merely a memorial but a communion also, or participation of it on man's side; and if there be a participation on one side, there must also be a communication on the other side, so both parts are complete. Every worthy receiver, as often as he *symbolically* receives the *blood*, revives and recruits his interest in our Lord's passion, and in the covenant, thereupon founded, he takes new hold of it, and binds himself over to it by more and stronger ties; which is what we mean by *renewing* the baptismal covenant, and this other sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. How insignificant, unedifying, and comfortless in comparison is a bare *commemoration*!* It neither answers the force of our Lord's words, farther interpreted by St. Paul, nor the purposes of holiness, nor the nature, ends, and uses of the spiritual

* 'Such would this mystery be, were it no more than the Socinians would have it, a *memorial* only of Christ's sufferings, by using which we profess our faith in Him. For the Scriptures are a memorial of Christ, and that not of his passion only, but of his nativity, of his sanctity, of his life, of his doctrine, and of his miracles. And men have many ways of declaring and professing themselves his disciples, though this Sacrament were not used at all. We publish our faith daily by repeating our creed. Were the doctrine of the Socinians to be allowed, this great ordinance would soon become an *useless* and worthless thing.'—Dr. Pelling, *Discourse of the Sacrament*, p. 120.

life, nor God's *usual* methods of dealing with his Church and people in all former ages.'

'(4) The federal nature of the Eucharist may be farther confirmed from the very observable analogy, which St. Paul takes notice of and illustrates, between the sacrament of the Holy Communion and the sacrifices of the Jews and Gentiles.'

The next step of Cudworth's argument is to prove (to demonstrate and evince are his own words) 'that the Lord's Supper, in the proper notion of it, is EPULUM EX OBLATIS, or a FEAST UPON SACRIFICE, in the same manner with the feasts upon the Jewish sacrifices under the law, and the feasts upon *εἰδωλόθυτα* (things offered to idols) among the heathens, and that from a place of Scripture where all these three shall be compared together, and made exact parallels to one another.'

1 Cor. x. 16-21.

Waterland's translation of the passage is given, as it is nearer to the original Greek than the authorised version.

16. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?

17. For since the bread is one, we, being many, are one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.

18. Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they who eat of the sacrifices communicants of the altar?

19. What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that what is offered to the idol is any thing?

20. But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God: and I would not have you become communicants of devils.

21. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: you cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils.

We cannot do better than subjoin Locke's paraphrase of this whole passage.*

Now St. Paul's object being to convince the Corinthians of the unlawfulness of eating things sacrificed

* They who drink of the cup of blessing which we bless in the Lord's Supper, do they not thereby *partake* of the *benefits* purchased by Christ's blood shed for them upon the cross, which they here *symbolically* drink? and they who eat of the bread *broken* there, do they not *partake* in the *sacrifice* of the *body* of Christ? and strengthen their union with Him, as members of *Him* their head? For by eating of that bread, We, though many in number, are all *united*, and make but one body under Christ our head, as many grains of corn are united into one *loaf*. See how it is among the Jews, who are outwardly, according to the *flesh*, by *circumcision*, the people of God. Among them they who *eat* of the *sacrifices* are partakers of the *altar*, God's *table*, have fellowship with him, and share in the benefit of the sacrifice, as if it were offered for them. Do not mistake me as if I hereby said that the idols of the Gentiles are gods in reality, or that the things offered to them *change* their *nature*, and are anything really different from what they were before, so as to affect us in our use of them: no, but this I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils* and not to God, and I would not that you should have *fellowship* with, and be under the influence of *devils*, as they who by eating of things offered to them, enter into *covenant alliance* and *commerce* with them. You cannot eat and drink with God, as friends at his table in the *Eucharist*, and entertain *familiarity* and *friendship* with *devils* by eating with them and partaking of the sacrifices offered to them.—Locke's *Commentary on the Text*, p. 181.

to devils, and of the consequences which must follow from such participation, however harmless they might think it to be, he proceeds to show, 'that though an idol might be nothing in itself, and though the things offered in sacrifice to idols might be in themselves different, in no respect, from other meats; yet to eat of those meats so sacrificed in the idol's temple, did virtually imply that worship was offered to those idols, and covenants made with the dæmons, of which these idols were the representatives. And this Cudworth proceeds to establish by an argument drawn from a comparison of two like cases, which may be stated thus:—

Those who eat of the Jewish sacrifices, under the law, are partakers of the sacrifices themselves; and are recipients of the benefits covenanted to them by this participation; in like manner,

Those who eat of the Lord's Supper are partakers of the sacrifice offered up by Him for us, and are recipients of the benefits covenanted to them by this participation; so also,

Those who eat of the sacrifices offered up to idols are partakers of the sacrifices themselves, and are recipients of the influences covenanted to them by this participation.

Now, unless St. Paul had assumed, as the basis of this triple analogy, the identity of the Eucharist with a sacrificial feast, unless he took for granted that the three parallels thus instituted ran side by side, the point of his argument against the unconscious idolatry

of the Corinthians would fall, blunted and aimless, to the ground. It is quite needless to add that such fallacies are not to be found in St. Paul's trains of argumentation.

The argument may be expanded somewhat into this form: as the Jews renew their covenants with the Almighty, by eating of things offered to Him in sacrifice, and so qualify themselves to receive the benefits promised in his law; as Christians, by eating of the Lord's Supper, feast upon the symbols of Christ's death and passion, become participators in his sacrifice, and qualified to receive the blessings promised to those who worthily partake of it, and renew the covenants entered into at their baptism; so do you, Corinthians, by feasting on things offered unto idols, have fellowship with devils, enter into a league of friendship with them, and become subject to the mysterious influences of those dæmons, or deceased men, which these idols represent.*

It may be proper to remark, that St. Paul argues from the likeness which the first bears to the second—the Jewish sacrifices to the Eucharist—to establish the identity of character of the idol feasts with them; while we argue from the similitude of the first and third—the Jewish sacrifices and the idol feasts—to establish a similarity of character between them and the Eucharist. We invert, so to speak, the Apostle's argument.

* 'Sacrificia ea inferiæ erant in memoriam defunctorum peracta.'—Selden. *de Diis Syris Syntagm.* i. cap. v.

Had not these analogies been well known, and generally admitted, it is not likely that the Apostle would have made them the premises of his reasoning. At any rate, we can gather what his own views were as to this triple analogy, and that ought to be sufficient for us.

‘The Socinians,’ says Dr. Waterland, ‘hold that the Eucharist is declaratory merely: that we in this sacrament do *declare* and *testify* that we are partakers of benefits not received in the sacrament, but brought with us. But St. Paul does not say that the Eucharist is a *declaration* of communion, but a *communion*; nor does he say communion with Christ our Head (though that be a remote consequence of the other), but communion of the body and blood of Christ. In the parallel instances, eating of idol meats was not a declaration of what had been done *before*, nor a declaration of what was to be done *after*, but that single action was taking part with idolaters, and that amounted to partaking of devils. It was so with respect to the Jewish sacrifices. The partaking of them was not merely *declaring* their participation of the altar, but it was actual participating at that very time and by that very act. St. Paul’s words are express, “are partakers of the altar” (not proclaimers of it), and his argument requires that sense.’

‘Some think it sufficient to say that the Eucharist imports our holding communion or fellowship with Christ, our head. But this interpretation is low and insufficient: expressing a truth, but not the whole truth. The Apostle’s expression is very strong—*com-*

munion OF and not communion WITH; and of Christ's body and blood, not simply of Christ. So in the parallel instances: they that eat of the idol meats held communion indeed with the idolaters, but were partakers OF devils, not WITH devils; and they that ate of the Jewish sacrifices were partakers of the ALTAR. Therefore, Bishop Patrick well says, with regard to the word communion in this place, "In its full significance, it denotes not merely our being made worthy of Christ's society, but our having a *communication* of his body and blood to us."—*Bishop Patrick's Christian Sacrifice*, p. 32. *Dr. Waterland*, vol. vii. p. 208.

'The Socinians allege that there are no special benefits attached to the Eucharist as such, nothing more conferred, than what is constantly conferred on good men, at all other times, and in all other good offices or common duties. Now, in defence of our doctrine, we plead St. Paul's authority, who asserts that the Eucharist is actually a communion of Christ's body and blood. Let them show that any common service or any other service, office, or duty (except Baptism) is so, and then they will come close to the point. It hath been observed above that eating of idol meats knowingly was, *ipso facto*, communicating with idolaters, and that communicating with idolaters was, *ipso facto*, partaking of devils, and that the eating of the Jewish sacrifices was, *ipso facto*, partaking of the altar; therefore, also receiving the Holy Communion, fit dispositions always supposed, is, *ipso facto* (in that very act, at that present time, by that

act), partaking of the death of Christ, with the fruits or privileges of it. Since, therefore, the very nature of the act supposes it and implies it (which is more than the nature of every other act, service, or duty does), therefore, there is some peculiar force, virtue, and efficacy annexed to the Eucharist above what is ordinarily annexed to common duties. Duties, as such, are conditions only on our part, *applications* of men to God, and therefore are not properly instruments in the hand of God for conveying his graces; but *sacraments* are *applications* of God to men, and therefore are properly his instruments of conveyance, his appointed means or conduits, in and by which He confers his graces. Gospel duties are the conditional causes of spiritual blessings, while sacraments are properly the instrumental conveyances. Neither repentance nor faith, nor even sacraments, considered merely as duties or as acts of ours, are properly channels of grace, being, as I said, conditions only; but sacraments, considered as applications of God to men, are properly channels of spiritual benefits. This is a distinction which ought carefully to be heeded for the right understanding between sacraments and duties. The Eucharist is an actual *communion*, wherein God *gives* and man *receives* at that instant, or in the very act. Such being the nature and use of this Eucharistical service, in Divine construction and by Divine appointment, it is manifest from thence that it carries in it the force of a promise or contract on God's part, that, fit qualifications supposed on our part, this service shall never fail of its effect, but shall

be to every worthy receiver like a deed of conveyance, instrumentally investing him with the benefits of Christ's death for the time being.'—*Dr. Waterland's Works*, vol. vii. p. 213.

'The Christians of Corinth, to whom the Apostle writes, were encompassed with Pagan idolaters, and were in great danger of being insidiously drawn in, by specious pretences, to eat of meats which had been *offered* up in the way of *sacrifice* to their *idols*. Such eating (if Christians were aware that the meat had been so offered) was in just construction, *participating* in common with the Pagan idolaters of devils, to whom those *idols* or *statues* belonged. Whereupon, St. Paul exhorts his new converts to beware of such dangerous practice, reminding them of the grievous judgments of God, which formerly came upon their forefathers the Israelites for the sin of *idolatry*.

“Neither be ye idolaters,” says he, “as were some of them;” and a little lower, “Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.” But because they seemed not yet fully sensible that such practice of theirs was really *idolatry*, but they had several artificial evasions to shift off the charge (as that *an idol was nothing in itself*, and that they had no design, by eating of such meats, to signify any consent of theirs with idolaters, or to give any countenance to them), I say, because the new converts were not readily convinced of the sin and danger of such practice, the Apostle undertakes to argue the case with them, in a very friendly but in a very strong and pressing manner both upon Jewish and Christian principles, prefacing

what he had to urge with this handsome compliment to them: "I speak as to wise men" (I appeal to your own good sense and sagacity); "judge ye what I say." Then he proceeds to argue in the way of parallel, or by parity of reason, from the case of the Christian Eucharist, and the Jewish feasts upon peace offerings, in order to infer from both, that as the Eucharist is interpretatively a participating of Christ's body and blood, and as the Jewish feasts were participating of the altar, so the eating of idol meats was interpretatively a participating of devils. To take the Apostle's argument in its just and full view, we must consider him as bearing in mind *two* distinct things which he had upon his hands to prove by one and the same argument: the first was that eating of the idol sacrifices (knowingly) was interpretatively consenting with the idolaters or *communicating* with them, though they might mean nothing less; and the second was that such consenting with the idolaters was in effect participating of devils. Such being the case, it could not but appear to be of very dangerous consequence knowingly to eat of things offered to idols.'

'Some interpret *communion* here to mean no more than a *joint partaking* of the outward signs, symbols or memorials of Christ's body and blood. But St. Paul must undoubtedly mean a great deal more by his emphatical expressions: and his argument also requires it. He does not say that the service is a *commemoration* of Christ's body and blood, but a *partaking* or *communion* of them. So likewise with respect to the Jews, he does not say that they *commemcrated* the

altar, but they were partakers of the altar: and the idolaters whom he speaks of did not barely *commemorate* devils, but were *partakers* of devils.*

‘It is further observable, that St. Paul speaks not of partaking with devils of such banquets, but of partaking with idolaters of devils. All the expressions made use of by the Apostle declare for this meaning, *κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος*, is partaking *of* body, not *with* body, *κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος*, is partaking *of* blood, not *with* blood. *κοινωνία τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* is partaking *of* the altar, not *with* the altar. In like manner, *κοινωνία τῶν δαιμονίων* must mean partaking *of* devils, not *with* devils. For, in truth, the communicants in the idol-sacrifices were joint partakers with idolaters of devils, as Christian communicants are joint partakers with Christians of Christ. Thus the analogy is duly preserved, and the comparison answers to the greatest exactness.’—*Dr. Waterland's Works*, vol. vii. p. 222.

Bishop Warburton, *On the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper*, argues as follows:—

The Jews and Gentiles equally held that they who *eat of the sacrifices were partakers of the altar*. But what had either of these eaters of the sacrifices to do with the partakers of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, if the Lord's Supper was not a feast of the same kind with their feasts? But especially, if the three

* St. Cyprian affirms that the dæmons used to hide themselves in the idols and statues of the gods.

‘Hi ergo spiritus (dæmones) sub statu et imaginibus consecratis delitescunt.’—Cyprian. *de Idolorum Vanitate*, p. 206.

feasts, Jewish, Pagan, and Christian, had not one common nature, how could the apostle have inferred that this intercommunity was absolutely inconsistent? *Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils.* For though there might be *impiety* in the promiscuous use of Pagan and Christian rites, yet the *inconsistency* arises from their having a common nature, and so consequently, as they had opposite originals, from their destroying one another's effects in the very celebration. The reasoning stands thus. Those who *eat of the sacrifices were partakers of the altar.* A sacrifice at the altar was a federal rite, consequently the feast upon that sacrifice became a federal rite likewise. The Lord's table, and the table of devils, therefore, being both federal rites, the same man could not be partaker of both. This is the apostle's argument to the wise men here appealed to; and we see it turns altogether on this postulatum, that the Lord's Supper is of the nature of a feast upon the sacrifice. Suppose it now only a *general commemoration of a dead benefactor*, and all this reasoning vanishes; for though a man cannot execute two contradictory federal rites, yet a *federal rite* and a *bare remembrance* in two contrary religions have none of this opposition, but may be celebrated, if not without *impiety*, yet without any of that inconsistency which the learned apostle here charges on his licentious Corinthians.'

'But this was not the only abuse they committed in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; nor this the only place in the Epistle declarative of the nature of that

holy rite. These Corinthians, as appears by the next chapter, had been guilty of celebrating the Lord's Supper in a very indecent manner, by confounding it with their ordinary repasts, or with convivial doings of their own invention, when charity and sobriety were too commonly violated. Now this indiscriminate celebration the apostle calls, *the being guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*. A charge surely much aggravated, were the Lord's Supper instituted only to commend a dead benefactor. If so, the Corinthians did not make a due distinction between their more ordinary food, and the eating and drinking in memory of a deceased friend. This doubtless was a high ingratitude. Yet to rank these offenders with the murderers of the *Lord of life* is a severity in which we can hardly see the justice. But let us only suppose that St. Paul considered the Lord's Supper as a *feast upon a sacrifice*, that is, as a rite in which the benefits of Christ's death and passion were conveyed, and at the same time slighted, and all becomes easy and natural. The profanation of such a rite, by rendering his death ineffectual, was, indeed, aiding the purpose of his murderers, and therefore might be fitly compared, and justly equalled, to the prodigious enormity of that crime.'

'The partaking of one bread [one loaf] makes the receivers, of many, to become one body. A just inference, if this rite be of the nature of a *feast upon the sacrifice*; for then the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ unites the receivers into one body, by an equal distribution of one common benefit: but if it

be only a general commemoration of a deceased benefactor, it leaves the receivers as it found them: not *one body*, but many separate professors of one common faith.'

'If the Apostle Paul had meant a joint partaking, or a partaking in common with our fellow Christians of the Bread and Wine, he would have *expressed* his meaning. In the text there is not a tittle of *fellow Christians*, or others of the *same* society. It is *κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος*, *κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος*, the *communion of the Blood*, the *communion of the Body*. Had the apostle meant what the learned author of the plain inquiry [Bishop Hoadley] makes him to mean, he would doubtless have said *κοινωνία ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα*, your communion in the body, i.e. your eating of it jointly. St. Paul knew how to express himself properly, and if this had been his meaning, he would have expressed himself in some such manner; as appears from a passage in his Epistle to the Philippians (Phil. i. 5), where he is professedly speaking of this joint participation of a blessing—*κοινωνία ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*—your communion in the Gospel, your joint belief and profession of it.'

κοινωνία is applied not only to spiritual beings, as well as to man, but also to inanimate things, as in Phil. iii. 10—*κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ*—the *fellowship or Communion of his sufferings*. Now, when thus applied, the idea of our joint fellowship with men is not contained, except when that fellowship is expressed, as will appear from the following words of the same apostle: *κοινωνία τοῦ Τιοῦ*—the Communion of the

Son,*—*κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*—the Communion of the Holy Ghost.† In these instances there is no pretence for admitting the idea of a joint partaking with our fellow Christians, with whom, however, we believe in common in the Son and in the Holy Ghost; because here is no joint act defined by time and place, as in the institution of the Lord's Supper.

But to make it still more apparent that, where the sacred writers use the word *κοινωνία* in this construction to signify our *union with our salvation*, no such *joint partaking* is to be understood, it will be proper to consider the following passage, where St. John expressly distinguishes the communion with Christ from the communion or fellowship with one another: *ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ . . . κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' ἀλλήλων.* ‡ *But if we say we have fellowship with Him . . . we have fellowship with one another.* By this mode of inference, and only by this, the communion of the blood and the communion of the body may likewise signify a *joint partaking or communion with one another.*—*Bishop Warburton, On the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper.*

The next step in this evangelical demonstration is to show how or in what sense the sacrificial feasting of the Bible is to be interpreted. Cudworth clearly establishes, with great strength of argument and felicity of proof, that this practice must be taken as a *federal rite* between God and man, in accordance with the universally prevailing custom of all antiquity,

* 1 Cor. i. 9.

† 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

‡ 1 Gen. Ep. i. 6, 7.

whether sacred or profane. As establishing his position, he refers to [Gen. xxvi.], ‘He made him and those that were with him a feast, and they did eat and drink, and rose up betimes in the morning, and sware to one another.’

‘When Laban made a covenant with Jacob [Gen. xxxi. 44], “Now, therefore, come,” saith Laban, “let us make a covenant, I and thou, and let it be for a witness between me and thee;” then it follows in the text, “They took stones and made a heap, and did eat there upon the heap,” and Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha, in his Chaldee tongue, but Jacob, in the Hebrew language, “Galeed,” i.e. a heap of witness,* implying that those stones upon which they

* Archbishop Magee, in his work on the Atonement (vol. i. p. 327), disputes the force of the argument drawn from this illustration. He says, ‘Jacob is said to have called his brethren to eat bread; but it by no means follows that this was part of the *sacrificial* ceremony. That he should invite his friends to partake in the *solemnity* of the sacrifice, and afterwards *entertain* them, is perfectly natural, and conveys no notion of feasting with God at his table.’

It may be perfectly natural, as the Archbishop says, that Jacob should provide an entertainment for his friends after the sacrifices were completed and ended, if we permit him to draw his notions of what was *perfectly natural* from modern manners; but his idea of Jacob’s providing a distinct entertainment for his brethren is opposed not only to the tone of thought, but to the uniform and multiplied evidence of all antiquity, whether Jewish or Heathen.

The Archbishop further objects, that the holocaust or burnt-offering was such as rendered it impossible that the sacrificer could feast upon it, the whole of the animal being consumed upon the altar. But, for the moment, granting this to be true, how can it possibly prove that other offerings, such as the peace offerings, were not sacrificial feasts. This is arguing, as the logicians say, *a particulari ad universale*. Besides, the Archbishop seems to forget or ignore what had been long before his time established by Mede and Cudworth, that

had eaten and drank together should be a witness against either of them that should first violate that covenant. Cudworth quotes the gloss of the Rabbi Moses Bar Nachman on this passage: "They did *eat* there a little upon the heap for a memorial: because it was the manner of those who enter into covenant to eat both together of the same bread, as a symbol of love and friendship." Much to the same purpose, another Jewish writer, Isaac Abarbanel, adds, "It was an ancient custom amongst them that they which did eat bread together upon the same table should be accounted ever afterwards as entire brethren." In this sense may Lamentations [ver. 6] be best explained: "We have given the hand to the Egyptians and to the Assyrians by fulness of bread," i.e. we have made a covenant with them.'

[Joshua ix. 14.] 'When the Gibeonites came to the Israelites and desired them to make a league with them, it is said "The men of Israel took of their victuals, and asked not council of the mouth of the Lord"—that is, they made a covenant with them—for so it follows afterwards in the text: "And Joshua made peace with them."'

Hence also we derive the full meaning of that

the Mincha or meat offerings and drink offerings to be feasted on accompanied the offering up of the holocaust.

And even were we to admit the validity of the Archbishop's arguments when applied to the very earliest ages of mankind, they are utterly futile when it is attempted to draw conclusions from them as to the customs and modes of thought that prevailed at the time of Christ. The Archbishop makes no allowance for the influence of what Bacon calls the greatest of innovators, *Tempus, Maximus novator*.

emphatic expression [Psalm xli. 9], spoken literally by David of Achitophel, 'Mine own familiar friend, that did eat of my bread, hath lift up the heel against me.'

In the 7th verse of Obadiah, that prophet speaks to Edom in this manner: 'All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee to the border; the men that were at peace with thee have deceived: they that eat thy bread have laid a wound under thee.'

The same notion is implied in that passage of St. John, 'How is it, that Thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, being a woman of Samaria?'

'Wherefore,' Cudworth concludes, 'I think from all these instances I may infer that this is the true etymon of that Hebrew word ברית, *berith*, which signifies a covenant, or any federal communion betwixt parties, from ברה to eat, because it was the constant custom of the Hebrews, and of Oriental nations generally, to establish covenants by eating and drinking together.'

Hence, the distribution of bride-cake, at our marriage festivals, still continues as a remnant of a custom dating back to the remotest ages of antiquity.

It must also be further observed, that sacrifices not only implied the notion of expiation, but also of feasting, which God, as it were, partook of. We must here again refer to the principle of *accommodation* which must be so widely applied in any rational interpretation of the Bible. In the revelation of God's will to man, as developed in the Scriptures, the style, the figures, the arguments and illustrations, the laws and

institutions, the rites and ceremonies, are brought down to the level of the human understanding. Truth cannot be received into the mind, unless the medium through which it is transmitted beats responsive to its tone of thought, to its acquired notions, and connatural ideas. The light of the sun is transmitted to us in 'purest ray serene,' but it becomes tinged with many coloured hues before it becomes an object of our vision. It is in some such sense as this that we must explain that passage in Ezekiel xx. 25, 'Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.' The statutes and judgments were not intrinsically or in themselves the best, but they were the best that they could bear.

When we read in Gen. iii. 8, that Adam and Eve 'heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the cool of the day,' we know that it is an *accommodation* to the simple notions of that far remote age. When Moses desired to see the glory of the Lord, we read in Exod. xxiii. 23, 'And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen.' We also read that 'God was angry,' 'that it repented him,' and other phrases of a like kind, which can be satisfactorily explained only on the principle of *accommodation*.

In accordance with this view, the Rev. Hartwell Horne observes, 'When the members of the human body are ascribed to God, we are not to conceive of him as a venerable old man, sitting gravely in heaven to observe

and censure the things done on earth, but must understand those perfections, of which such members in us are the instruments. The eye, for instance, being that member by which we discern or observe anything, is employed to denote God's perfect and exact knowledge of all things. In like manner *ears* are attributed to Him to signify his gracious acceptance of his people's prayers. By his *arm* we are to understand his power and strength, so his *work* is expressed by his *fingers*, his *love* by his *bowels*.* These *accommodations* may be verified by a thousand passages in Scripture.

When God led the children of Israel out of Egypt, we find the same principle applied. Thus, while they sojourned in the wilderness, and lived in tents, God would place in a tabernacle or tent his divine presence, or the Shechinah, which was a type or symbol of God's future dwelling in the human nature of Christ. When they passed over Jordan, and came into the promised land, they converted their tents into houses ; and then, in the same spirit of gracious *accommodation*, the tent or tabernacle was transformed into a temple.

Now the tabernacle or temple being held by the Israelites to be God's dwelling, they still further carried out the idea to its consequences, and into its details. Accordingly, they provided all things suitable, to render such a dwelling habitable. Thus, there was a table provided, and a candlestick to be placed on it. But an ordinary table must be furnished. Therefore the

* *Hartwell Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, Vol. II., Part 1. p. 464.

Lord's table must be supplied with a candlestick, and with lights continually burning. Hence, also, there must be a perpetual fire on the altar. To make this idea of an actual residence of a real presence complete, food was carried into the temple, and consumed in sacrifices, partly on God's own altar, and partly eaten by the priests and worshippers.

That portion which was consumed by fire was reckoned as God's own portion [Malachi i. 7, 12], and often in the law the sacrifice is called God's bread.

Still further there was a meat offering and a drink offering joined to the daily sacrifice. To complete this mystical feast or figurative banquet, in accordance with the ideas and customs of this imaginative people, scarcely rescued from idolatry, salt was ordered to be added to every sacrifice, because salt was an indispensable condiment; or, as one of the Jewish writers puts it, 'Because it was not honourable that God's meat should be unsavoury without salt.'

'We already know that the sacrificial gift, which, after being refined by the fire of God,* was appro-

* But that fire, by which the sacrificial gift was appropriated to God, in a refined and transfigured form, was not ordinary fire. It was *holy* fire; the very same which came out from God in connection with Aaron's first sacrificial service (Lev. ix. 24, and 2 Chron. vii. 1), and consumed the sacrifice, and which was never henceforth to be allowed to go out, that its character as fire of divine origin might be sustained. The refining and sanctifying power of which this fire was the symbol, was a power proceeding not from man but from God—the power of the Holy Ghost, which dwelt in the congregation, the fire-spirit of the law, which was proclaimed in fire on Sinai, and burned into the hearts with a fiery glow, whose fundamental idea is the commandment, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy' (Lev. xix. 2).—Professor Kurtz, *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 155.

priated to Him, was intended as food or *nourishment* for Jehovah, as the הַיְהוָה לֶחֶם ; and we have also shown in what sense it was meant that Jehovah needed such food for his existence. The sacrificial gift was the symbol of the self-dedication of the people in fidelity to the *covenant*, which was, as it were, the “daily bread” of Jehovah, because (according to the bold but apt words of *Hengstenberg*) the prayer of man, “Give us this day our daily bread,” had by its side the demand of God, “Give me this day my daily bread.”—Professor Kurtz, *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 159.

And finally, all these things were to be consumed on the altar, by the holy fire which descended from heaven, as being God’s portion. There are many references to this belief to be found in the records even of heathen antiquity. Pindar, in his Olympic Odes, alludes to this custom;* and Solinus, as quoted by Cudworth. Hence also, doubtless, the perpetual holy fire on the altar of Vesta among the Romans.

The same learned author observes, ‘The sacrifices being thus God’s feasts, they that did partake of them must needs be God’s convivæ or guests, and in a manner eat and drink with him. And that this eating and drinking did imply the notion of a federal rite, may also be inferred from [Lev. ii. 13].’

* καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθούσας ἔχοντες
σπέρμ’ ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὐ·
τεῦξαν δ’ ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς
ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει. κείνοισι μὲν ξαν-
θὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν
πολὺν ὕσε χρυσόν.—Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 87.

‘And every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering; with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.’

‘Here the salt that was to be cast upon the sacrifices is called the salt of the covenant, to signify that as men did make covenants by eating and drinking together of food to which salt is a necessary condiment—in these Eastern countries so indispensable at meals—and therefore because covenants and reconciliations were made by eating and drinking at meals, in which salt was always used, so salt itself came to be reckoned among the ancients as the symbol of friendship. Ἁλς καὶ τράπεζα—salt and table—was proverbially used by the Greeks to express friendship. So also in Ezra [iv. 14], Chaldee paraphrase, “We are salted with the salt of the palace,” that is, we have taken his service. Even to this day there is a superstitious feeling with reference to the spilling of salt accidentally.’*

* So in the present day ‘to eat bread and salt together’ is an expression for a league of mutual amity: on the other hand, the Persian terms a traitor *nemekeram*, ‘one faithless to his salt.’

The heathen nations of antiquity accompanied their sacrifices with salted barley meal, the Greeks with their *ὄλοχύται* (Hom. *Il.* i. 449), the Romans with their *mola salsa* (Hor. *Sat.* II. iii. 20) or their *salsæ fruges* (Virg. *Æn.* ii. 133). There can be little doubt that there was a symbolical force attached to its use. Our Lord refers to the sacrificial use of salt (Mark ix. 49, 50).—See *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*. ‘Salt.’

In the central regions of Africa wedges of salt circulate as money.

‘Numa Pompilius deos fruge coli, et mola salsa supplicari instituit, quam molam ex farre, sale et aqua composuit, sine quâ nullum sacrificium ratum fieri censuit.’—Alex. ab Alex. *Genial. dier.* lib. iii. cap. 12.

Hence, therefore, Cudworth concludes, ‘As the legal sacrifices, with feasts upon those sacrifices, were *federal rites* between God and men; in like manner, I say, the Lord’s Supper under the Gospel, which we have already proved to be *Epulum sacrificiale*, a feast upon sacrifice, must needs be *Epulum fœderale*—a feast of amity and friendship—between God and men; where, by eating and drinking at God’s own table, and of his meat, we are taken into a sacred covenant and inviolable league of friendship with Him.

‘Which I will confirm from that fore-commended place, whence I have already proved that the Lord’s Supper is a feast upon sacrifice. For there the apostle thus dehorts the Corinthians from eating of the feasts upon idol sacrifices, which are a parallel to the feast upon the Christian sacrifice in the Lord’s Supper, because this was to have fellowship and federal communion with devils: the things that the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice unto devils and not to God, “and I would not, brethren, that ye should have *fellowship* (or communion, *κοινωνίαν*) with devils.” Where the comment of St. Chrysostom is excellent to our purpose: “If among men to communicate of bread and salt be a token and symbol of friendship, it must carry the same notion between men and devils in the idol-feasts.”’

Εἰ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἁλῶν καὶ τραπέξης φιλίας ἀφορμὴ καὶ σῖμβολον γίνεται, ἐγγωρεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ δαιμόνων τοῦτο συμβῆναι.

‘Multi modii salis simul edendi sunt, ut amicitiae munus expleatum sit.’—Cicero, *de Amicitia*.

If therefore to eat the sacrifice of devils be to have federal communion with those devils to whom it was offered: then to eat the sacrifice of Christ, once offered up to God in the Lord's Supper, is to have federal communion with God.

The true notion or idea of the Lord's Supper having been thus demonstrated, Cudworth concludes: 'How that much disputed theological controversy, whether the Lord's Supper be a sacrifice, is already decided. For it is not sacrificium but epulum ἐκ τῆς θυσίας, not a SACRIFICE but a FEAST UPON SACRIFICE, not the offering of something up to God, but the eating of something that comes from God's altar and is set upon our tables; neither was it ever known among the Jews or heathens that these tables on which they did eat their sacrifices should be called by the name of altars. St. Paul, speaking of the feasts upon the idol sacrifices, calls the places upon which they were eaten τραπέζα δαιμονίων, "the table of devils," because the meat previously offered to dæmons was eaten on them, not the altars of dæmons. It is proper to observe, that St. Paul, to preserve the analogy, calls the communion table, the Lord's table, that is, the table on which God's meat is eaten, not his altar upon which it is offered. It is true, an altar is nothing but a table; but it is a table upon which, so to speak, God himself eats, consuming the sacrifices by his holy fire. But when the same meat is given from God to us to eat of, the relation being changed, the place on which we eat becomes θυσιαστήριον, or sacrifice table, not βωμὸς, or altar.'

It is true the sacrament is called a sacrifice, and it is so, in a certain sense, even as prayer is called a sacrifice (Psalm cxli. 2), and as praises are called a sacrifice (Heb. xiii. 15), and as righteousness and a broken spirit are called a sacrifice (Psalm li. 17), and as alms-deeds are called sacrifices (Heb. xiii. 16).

In the prayer after the Communion, we offer up ourselves, our souls and bodies, as a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice. It is on this ground, as we shall see more fully as we proceed, and not from any imaginary sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, that the celebration of this mystery is called a sacrifice. Hence, too, it is that the Lord's table is called an altar, as in the early ages of the Church. Mede (*Works*, p. 376) is very clear and satisfactory on this question. Having shown that the altar of the true God was called *θυσιαστήριον*, and that of the Gentiles *βωμός*, he proceeds:—

‘But you will ask me now, wherein consisted the real difference between the two, which made them (the ancient ecclesiastical writers) so nice, i.e. *so unwilling*, to call the one by the name of the other? or was it verbal only? I answer it was real. For the altar of the true God, *θυσιαστήριον*, was only (as the name implies) a table for sacrifices, viz. in the law, of those bloody sacrifices which were then offered to God by fire and incense; in the Gospel of the reasonable and spiritual sacrifice, sent up unto God *λόγῳ καὶ πνεύματι*—only by the word of thanksgiving and prayer. But *βωμοί*, or the altars of the Gentiles, were *suggesta* or *scabellæ sculptilium et simulacrorum*, idol-stools or foot-stools of their images, in respect of the accommodation one had to

the other, which was such as their idols were placed before, upon, or above their altars.'

So 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, we read that Josiah caused the altars (*βωμοὶ*) of Baalim to be broken down, and the images that were on high above them. Mede still further strengthens his position, referring to Rev. (xi. 1), Surge, inquit, et metire templum Dei (*ναόν*), et thysiasterium—Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein: ' *Ubi θυσιαστήριον non altare tantum holocausti, quod ibi situm, sed spatium etiam circumjectum, id est, totum altaris et sacrificii locum designat, ut ex verbis ei proximè cohærentibus colligitur, καὶ προσκυνούντας ἐν αὐτῷ, id est, ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, unde Lexicon vetus Graeco-Lat. θυσιαστήριον interpretatur altarium, sacrarium.*'—Mede, *Works*, p. 479.

Ancient authors take the same view. Thus the author *de Eccles. Hierarch.* c. 3, ὁ μὲν ἱεράρχης ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καθίσταται—'The priest stands in the middle of the sacrarium where the table stands.' And to the same effect the word is used by Ignatius in that expression of his ἐὰν μή τις ἢ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου (*Ep. ad Ephes.*). Archbishop Usher remarks that *ναὸς* and *θυσιαστήριον* sometimes mean the same thing.*

From a comparison of ancient authorities, it would

* And Lucian (*Timon*): τοσαῦτα μὲν ταύρων τε καὶ αἰγῶν πιότατα καύσαντος ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν. And still more to the purpose, in the dialogue *Θεῶν ἐκκλησία*. ἐκείνοις δὲ τάφον χῶσαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ στήλην ἐπιστήσαι ἀντὶ βωμοῦ.

seem that *θυσιαστήριον* originally signified the sacellum or chancel, or inclosure in which the *τράπεζα* or table-altar stood. Afterwards, by a common and familiar metonymy, it came to signify the altar or rather table-altar itself. *θυσία*, we know, implied not only sacrifice but feasting (Herod. viii. 99).^{*} Our English word sacrifice fails to convey those nice shades of meaning so sharply defined in the corresponding Greek expressions.

It is worthy of remark, that the word *βωμὸς* occurs but once in the New Testament (Acts xvii. 23), *βωμὸς ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*, an altar to the unknown God. That is, a heathen altar at Athens, as it should be. The word *βωμὸς* may best be derived from *βῆμα*, denoting the pedestal on which the statue of the god stood, indicating his *presence*, and on which the sacrifices were burned.

Some, however, would connect *βωμὸς* with the Hebrew word *בָּמוֹת*, whence *בָּמוֹת* ‘bamoth, high places.’—See Gesenius, *Lex.* in *בָּמָה*.

The Fathers who wrote in Latin translate *θυσιαστήριον* by *altare*, and *βωμὸς* by *ara*.

Hence, finally, it will clearly follow, that in the Lord's Supper, there is a symbolical feast on the elements of bread and wine, which *represent* the sacrifice of Christ's body on the cross, but are not *actually* and *really* that body. Thus the celebration of the Lord's Supper is not a corporeal sacrifice

^{*} καὶ ἐθυμίαν θυμῆματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐκαθείῃσι.—Herod. viii. 99.

offered on an altar, but a symbolical feast upon that sacrifice, in which not only is remembrance vivified by association of ideas, but actual commemoration is made and federal covenants between God and man renewed.

We must also observe, that though the paschal lamb was offered year by year, as a sacrifice, and then feasted on, to commemorate the ONE great deliverance from Egypt; so the spiritual sacrifice in the Eucharist is frequently offered to commemorate the ONE great sacrifice, once for all, offered upon the cross. No repetition of *this* sacrifice can for a moment be admitted. About this fundamental principle there can be neither doubt nor question. No choice of phrase, no precision of statement, could put this doctrine in clearer light than the following (Heb. x.): 'Christ our high priest offered one perfect sacrifice for sins for ever, and so sat down on the right hand of God; by that ONE offering of himself having perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and having sanctified them through the offering of his own body, ONCE FOR ALL.'

Archbishop Potter, in his treatise on Church Government, takes the same view of the Sacrament, as a *Covenant* made at a sacrificial feast.

'But there is yet a farther reason why none but bishops and presbyters have ever consecrated the Lord's Supper, viz. because the Lord's Supper was always believed to succeed in the place of sacrifices; consequently, as none beside the high priest and inferior priests were permitted to offer sacrifices under the

Jewish law, so the Lord's Supper was consecrated by none but bishops and presbyters, who alone are priests in the Christian sense of that name. It is not my design to explain the nature and ends of the Lord's Supper, any farther than these may lead us to the proper minister of it, and therefore I shall only hint a few things necessary to this purpose.

‘ Here, then, it may be remembered, that in the ancient sacrifices, both among the Jews and heathens, one part of the victim was offered upon the altar, and another reserved to be eaten by those persons in whose name the sacrifice was made: this was accounted a sort of partaking of God's table, and was a federal rite, whereby He owned the guests to be in his favour and under his protection, as they by offering sacrifices acknowledged Him to be their God. There are several examples of this in Homer, and the same custom is often described in the Roman authors. But I shall rather consider the practice of the nations in Canaan and thereabouts, to which there are frequent allusions in the Scripture. God gave the Jews this precept, to be observed when they should come thither: “ Ye shall destroy their altars, and break their images, and cut down their groves; lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and then go a-whoring after their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.”*’

‘ And that which is here provided against, came to pass before the Israelites reached the promised land.

* Exodus xxxiv. 13, 15.

“ Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods.”* We find the same custom among those who worshipped the true God. “ Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread.”† In the Christian Church there is only one proper sacrifice, which our Lord offered upon the cross, and consequently Christians cannot partake of any sacrifice in a literal and strict sense without allowing transubstantiation. Lest, therefore, they should want the same pledge to assure them of the divine favour, which the Jews enjoyed, our Lord appointed the elements of bread and wine to signify his body and blood offered in sacrifice, whence they are expressly called his body and blood, it being common for representatives to bear the name of those things or persons which they represent. The elements were not Christ's real body and blood, nor understood to be so by the Apostles, or any primitive fathers, but they were made the symbols of his body and blood, the partaking whereof is all one to the receivers, and does as much assure them of the favour of God, as if they should eat and drink the real body and blood of Christ offered upon the cross. To this purpose is the discourse of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 16-21), where it may be observed: 1. That eating the Lord's Supper is the same rite in the Christian Church with eating the things offered in sacrifice

* Numb. xxv. 1, 2.

† Gen. xxx. 34.

among the Jews and the heathens. 2. That it is an act of communion or fellowship with God, at whose table we are said to be entertained, and therefore it is declared to be inconsistent with eating the Gentile sacrifices, which is an act of communion with devils, to whom those sacrifices are offered. 3. That it is an act of communion between Christians, who eat at the same table, and by that means are owned to be members of the same evangelical covenant under Christ. Whence the Apostle declares, in another place, that the Jews who are not within the Christian covenant, and consequently not in communion with Christ and His Church, have no right to partake of the Christian altar. "We have an altar," says he, "whereof they have no right to partake who serve the Tabernacle."* Hence it is manifest that to eat the Lord's Supper is to partake of the sacrifice of Christ which is there commemorated and represented. For which reason the most primitive fathers speak of eating at the Christian altar. "He that is not within the altar," says Ignatius, "is deprived of the bread of God." Where by the bread of God he means the sacrament which God imparts to Christians from his own table, which this father calls the altar. And the Lord's Supper is called an *oblation*, a *sacrifice*, and a gift. Thus, in Clemens of Rome, "It is no small crime if we depose those from their episcopal office who have unblameably and holily offered the gifts."† Where he manifestly takes this phrase of

* Heb. xiii. 13.

† Ad Corinth. Epist. I. cap. xlv.

offering gifts in the sense in which the Jews and our Lord used it. "If thou bring thy gift unto the altar," says our Lord, "and there remembrest that thy brother hath aught against thee: Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Where gift is put for sacrifice.

'Justin Martyr, in several places of his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, calls the Eucharist a sacrifice. Having cited the passage of Malachi where God tells the Jews "I have no pleasure in you, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering." He makes this comment upon it: "He (that is God) then foretold the sacrifices which are offered to Him by us Gentiles, namely, the Eucharist of bread and wine, whereby He says we glorify his name, but ye (Jews) profane it." Afterwards he has these words: "We (Christians) are the true nation of God's priests, as God Himself witnesseth when He saith that in every place among the Gentiles they shall offer to Him pure and acceptable sacrifices. For God accepts sacrifices from no man but his own priests." And therefore He foretells that all those shall be acceptable unto Him who shall offer in this name the sacrifices which Jesus Christ directed to be made, namely, those which are made by the Christians in all places in the Eucharist of bread and wine.

Irenæus calls the Eucharist "The oblation of the Church which our Lord directed us to offer through the whole world, which, he says, is accounted by God a pure sacrifice, and it is acceptable unto Him."

'In another place, where he speaks of our Lord's instituting the Eucharist, he has these words, "He taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church has received from the Apostles and offers through the whole world."* And in the fathers of the next age to consecrate the Lord's Supper is so constantly called *προσφέρειν* in Greek and *offerre* in Latin, that is, to offer it, that it is needless to cite any testimonies from them; so that it is plain, both from the design and nature of the Lord's Supper, and from the concurrent testimony of the most primitive fathers who conversed with the Apostles or their disciples, that it was reckoned throughout the whole world to be a commemorative sacrifice, or the memorial of our Lord offered upon the cross, which, being first dedicated to God by prayer and thanksgiving, and afterwards eaten by the faithful, was to all intents the same to them as if they had really eaten the natural body and blood of Christ, which are thereby represented. The consequence whereof, as explained by the constant practice of the Church in all ages, is, that they who consecrate this sacrament must be priests in the Christian sense of this name, as was before observed. But it is not to be wondered that those of the reformed religion have either wholly abstained from the names of sacrifice or

* Irenæus, iv. cap. xxxiv.

oblation, or mention them with caution and reserve in explaining this sacrament, which were used by the primitive fathers in a very true and pious sense, since they have been so grossly abused by the papists in their doctrine of the mass, which depends upon their other absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, which is their daily occasion of many superstitions and idolatrous practices, and has for several ages given infinite scandal both to the Jews and Gentiles and to the Church of God.'—*Archbishop Potter's Discourse of Church Government*, 8vo. p. 260.

We shall close this long series of authorities, ancient and modern, by an extract from Professor Kurtz' work *On the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*—a work of high authority on the continent—in which he takes a like view of the feast after the peace-offerings as a *sacrificial meal and covenanting rite*.

'In conclusion, we have still to examine the SACRIFICIAL MEAL, which terminated the entire series of sacrificial acts. It is true, there was only one kind of sacrifice with which it was associated, viz. the peace offering; but for all that it formed an equally independent feature, and one that was quite as essential to the complete exhibition of the idea of sacrifice as the sprinkling of the blood and burning the flesh by which it was preceded. . . . About the meaning of the meal itself there can be no question. "To an oriental mind," says Bähr (ii. 373), "two ideas were inseparably associated in the notion of a meal; on the one hand, that of fellowship and friendship existing among the

participators themselves, and also between them and the provider of the meal; and on the other hand, that of joy and gladness, so that even the highest and purest joy, viz. blessedness in the kingdom of heaven, is described under the figure of a meal (Psalm xxiii. 5, xvi. 11, xxxvi. 8, Matt. viii. 11, xxii. 1, Luke xiv. 15).” And as what was provided for the meal in this case belonged, strictly speaking, to Jehovah, to whom it had been entirely given up through the act of presentation, all who took part in the meal ate with Him at his table.* It was He who gave the meal; and this was a pledge of friendship and peace with Him. . . . The sacrificial meal, therefore, was an expression and pledge, as well as an actual symbolical attestation and enjoyment, of the blessedness offered to the covenant-nation in fellowship with Jehovah. It exhibited the highest sacramental point of the whole process of sacrifice; or to express the progressive stages of the sacrificial idea in doctrinal phraseology, just as the burning of the sacrifice answered to *sanctification*, and the sprinkling of the blood to *justification*, so the meal corresponded to the *unio mystica*. . . .

‘It is quite in harmony with this explanation of the sacrificial meal, that, according to Deut. xii. 7, 18, the family of the person sacrificing took part in it, including even the servants, and also the Levites who were supposed to be in need. The meal, it is true, was prepared at the instigation and for the sake of the

* Εἰς τὸ γὰρ οὐκέτι τεθυκότος ἀλλ’ ὃ τέθυται τὸ ἱερεῖον.—Philo. *de Victimis*.

person sacrificing, but not for him alone, since this would have robbed it of the essential characteristic of a social meal. The whole of the *covenant-nation*, in its normal relation to its *covenant-God*, had really a claim to share in the enjoyment of the happiness of which this divine meal was the symbol; so that, strictly speaking, if it had been practicable, the whole of the *covenant-nation* might and should have been invited; but as this was impossible, a small number of its members, chosen from the immediate circle of the person sacrificing, were invited to represent it, after the analogy of the paschal meal, at which every company formed a congregation by itself, or rather represented the whole congregation. "Thus," according to Keil, quoted by Kurtz, "Thus the sacrificial meal became a covenant meal, a meal of love and joy, which shadowed forth not only a fellowship of home and table with the Lord, but also the blessedness of the kingdom of heaven. For by the fact that a portion was handed over to the Lord, the earthly food was sanctified into a symbol of the true spiritual food, with which the Lord satisfies and invigorates the citizens of his kingdom."

'It is evident, from 1 Cor. x. 18, 21, that we have the authority of the Apostle Paul in favour of our view. In ver. 18 he affirms that the ancient Israelites ("Israel according to the flesh") who ate of the sacrifices entered thereby into the fellowship of the altar; and from this premise he deduces the further conclusion in ver. 21, that whoever took part in the

sacrificial meals of the heathens, as such, became a partaker of the table of demons, just as the Christian, when eating the Lord's Supper, became a partaker of the table of God. No proof surely is needed that by the "Israel according to the flesh" we are to understand not the Israelitish priests, to the exclusion of the people generally, but the nation itself, and consequently that the eating refers not to the flesh of the sin-offerings but to that of peace-offerings. But if such eating brought the eater into the fellowship of the altar, or made him a participant of the table of God, it must have been regarded as eating at God's table, and God must have been the provider of the food. This was also the case at the Lord's Supper, to which the Apostle regards the sacrificial meal as standing in a typical relation. The Christians presented the bread and wine, but they ate and drank of them after they had been consecrated by the *εὐλογία*; they partook of them, however, as food given to them by God, through the eating and drinking of which they became partakers of "the table of the Lord."—*Professor Kurtz on the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, p. 164.

CHAPTER III.

LET us now, putting all the authorities and their evidences aside for the moment, dispassionately consider the circumstances under which this rite was instituted.

The gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke tell us, with but little variation in the narrative, how Christ, during the eating of the Passover, had formally instituted the Christian Eucharist. We are not informed that the disciples expressed any surprise, suggested any doubt, or asked for any explanation. This is only what might have been anticipated, if the newly instituted rite were of the same kind as the one it was destined to replace.* Now, nothing could be more familiar to the Jews, of that age, and to the Gentiles also, nothing more in accordance with their customs and tone of thought, derived from a remote antiquity, than the belief that sacrificial feasts were federal rites, the acknowledged modes and legitimate instruments by which covenants were contracted. And that this was the view of the very early Christians, we have the distinct evidence of Pliny the Younger, who had no theory to serve, and who was quite indifferent in the matter.†

* 'Certe non in hoc tantum, sed et in baptismi sacramento videtur omnino Christus se non Hebræorum tantum sed et gentium in idem fœdus cooptandarum captui accommodasse.'—Grotius *in Matth.* xxvi. 27.

† 'They [the Christians] affirmed, that the sum total of their fault or of their error consisted in assembling upon a certain stated day

We know that Christ, as Sir Isaac Newton, in his work on the Prophecies, observes, 'Christ, in his teaching, drew his illustrations not from distant sources but from the obvious phenomena by which He was surrounded. The approach of harvest, the bloom of the lily, the shooting of the fig tree, the folding of the flocks, all in succession point and adorn his discourses.' Shall we be surprised if the familiar feast of the Pass-over suggested that form of federal covenant which He established on the eve of his passion. Assuming thus that the Lord's Supper is a development of the Paschal feast, we find it in all its relations harmonising with established ordinances, accepted without question, causing no surprise, exciting no cavil, but quietly admitted as the new form of the old rite imposed on their fathers in Egypt.

We have a striking illustration of this transmutation of rite in the conversion of circumcision into baptism. The former was the seal of a covenant under the old law, the latter of a like covenant under the Christian dispensation. The transition from the one to the other seems to have been acquiesced in by the

before it was light, to sing alternately among themselves hymns to Christ, as to God; binding themselves *by oath* not to be guilty of any wickedness; not to steal, not to rob, not to commit adultery, not to break their faith when plighted; not to deny the deposits in their hands whenever called upon to restore them. [Seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere; sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent.]—*Pliny's Epistles*, vol. ii. p. 438. Lord Orrery's translation. This plainly shows, says Dr. Pelling, that the sense of the Primitive Church was that men's taking of the Holy Sacrament is like the taking of a promissory *oath*, a taking of the greatest ties and obligations upon them.

disciples as a matter of course. Now, we do not find this indifference to inquiry, or facility in the acceptance of new doctrines, to have characterised the followers of Christ on former occasions, when He developed his views before them. 'They murmured.' 'They walked no more with him.' And if on any occasion they should feel themselves bound to inquire into and to ascertain for themselves the exact meaning of Christ's sayings, so should they, especially on the eve of his final departure, strive to discover the precise nature and true purpose of the rite thus finally instituted.

If we accept the theory that the Passover was a real sacrifice to God, feasted on after oblation, as the seal of a covenant, and that the Eucharist is a symbolical sacrifice, the elements being feasted on after oblation, as a seal of a covenant frequently renewed, we shall exhibit an analogy as striking between the Eucharist and the Passover, as between Baptism and Circumcision.

And this will satisfactorily explain why the other Apostles, with the exception of St. Paul (and he addressed the Gentiles), have passed over in silence the institution of the Eucharist. Without discussion or inquiry, they admitted the analogy which it bore to the Passover and other sacrificial feasts. If, on the other hand, the celebration of the Eucharist exhibit a perpetual miracle of so transcendent a nature as to cause all other manifestations of divine power to pale before it, we cannot assign any adequate cause why it

should not have been an exhaustless theme of wonder and admiration to the Apostles, and also to their successors the early fathers of the Church.

This also we may infer to have been the reason why, with the exception of what St. Paul says about self-examination, so very few practical instructions are given in the New Testament as to the necessary preparation for receiving the sacrament 'worthily.' Admit the analogy, and we shall see that the necessary adjuncts for 'worthy preparation' were at hand and familiar.

No unbiassed student of the New Testament can have failed to observe the manifest design of Christ and his Apostles to derive, as it were, the Gospel from the Law; to indicate that the former was the foreordained development of the latter. In his discourses, our Lord constantly quotes the Law. 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am not come to destroy the law but to fulfil: one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away until all be fulfilled.' And again, 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.' His hearers apparently are to continue to bring their gifts to the Jewish altars.*

To the same effect, the Apostles. St. Peter pointedly declares, 'The words of the Lord endureth for ever' (1 Peter i. 25). So also St. Paul, 'Do we then

* Ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, &c.—Matt. v. 23.

προσφέρειν and θυσιαστήριον, *offerre* and *altare*, are Jewish sacrificial terms.

make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law' (Rom. iii. 31).

And even still more to the purpose, in Galatians, where the law is compared to a school-servant, leading the believer to Christ to be instructed by him in the Gospel. It is needless to multiply these declarations. It was clearly one leading object of the New Testament writers to show that the Gospel had sprung from the same stock as the Law, which was not therefore to be cut down as cumbering the ground, but rather, to use St. Paul's own similitude, the old olive tree was not to be grubbed up, so that a young shoot of a more fruitful kind might be planted in its stead; but it was, we are expressly told, that the new branch might be '*grafted*' upon the old stock, so that it might draw its sustenance and growth from the parent stem.

We see Christ and the Apostles setting the same object before them also in their actions. Thus our Lord was circumcised. He went up to the temple, He attended the Jewish worship, He celebrated the Passover. St. Paul permitted Timothy to be circumcised; a manifest concession to Jewish feeling, if not to Jewish prejudice. He associated himself with those under a Jewish vow. The Apostles taught in the temple; they preached in the Jewish synagogues. There is no formal abrogation of the ceremonial law. There is no record of any transfer of the holiness of the Sabbath to the Lord's day; and hence, for centuries, both were by a certain sect observed.

Now, if we take the Law and the Gospel as two

independent systems—the one destined to supersede the other—these statements and actions of Christ and his Apostles will seem somewhat inexplicable. But if we assume that the Law was developed into the Gospel, that the rites and ceremonies of the former have their counterparts and equivalents in the latter,—circumcision passing into baptism, the Passover into the Eucharist, the Levitical priesthood into the Christian ministry, the moral law once exclusively given to a selected people extended to every nation under heaven, then the whole scheme, viewed from this stand point, becomes clear, consistent, and unbroken, developing itself from age to age as the world's history expands. No more profound aphorism than the great truth first announced by Bishop Butler, 'THAT THE BIBLE CONTAINS MANY TRUTHS AS YET UNDISCOVERED.'

Now this must be so, if the Bible be a system of living and growing truths, and not a dry collection of stereotyped forms and dead propositions. If the object of the sacred writings be to produce certain ideas in men's minds, and if as regards some of those ideas man's understanding is not yet prepared to receive them, they must lie dormant until other knowledge shall become established, other facts discovered, so that the mind shall be at last prepared for their reception. For countless ages had the sun's light fallen, and fallen in vain, as regards a certain result, on the material substances by which we are surrounded, because none of them was suitably prepared for its reception ; just

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so long was sun-painting unknown to mankind. Bacon finely says, 'Truth is the daughter of time.'*

Hence, too, it follows, that as facts and phenomena of every kind increase, our knowledge, which is only another name for those multiplied relations which these facts and phenomena reciprocally bear one to another, must increase in a much higher ratio than they. So that instead of the progress of truth becoming stationary or retrogressive, we may anticipate its accelerated advancement; yet in such wise that the most ancient of truly recorded facts, the earliest of phenomena correctly observed, shall be connected with the newest discoveries of the current age, with the most modern forms of logical thought.

Thus the discoveries of one age become the elements of instruction in the next.†

* 'Potius temporis partus quam ingenii.'—Bacon. *Nov. Org.* lib. i. aph. 122.

† 'In consequence of the gradual improvements which take place in language as an instrument of thought, the classifications, both of things and facts with which the infant faculties of each successive race are conversant, are more just and more comprehensive than those of their predecessors: the discoveries which in one age were confined to the studious and enlightened few, becoming in the next the established creed of the learned; and in the third, forming part of the elementary principles of education. Indeed, among those who enjoy the advantages of early instruction, some of the most remote and wonderful conclusions of the human intellect are, even in infancy, as completely familiarised to the mind as the most obvious phenomena which the material world exhibits to their senses. If these remarks be just, they open an unbounded prospect of intellectual improvement to future ages.'—Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. i. chap. iv p. 221.

As is observed by Tittmann, 'Tirones hodie discunt ac norunt quæ doctissimi olim viri vix mente divinarunt.'

Why truth should be the daughter of time, or, in other words, the result of evolution and development, follows from the expansion of those countless series of events and changes that are continually being unfolded according to the law of their being. Of those synchronous phenomena, which may, so to speak, accidentally touch, and which may be inseparably united, it may require the lapse of ages to discover. Thus while man's understanding and his moral nature continue unchangeably the same, they are subjected, from age to age, to varied influences as well external as internal. Hence the utility of free discussion. It is unquestionably true, that the discoveries of modern times, as well in science as in the arts, developing the strength of Christian nations, and accelerating the decay of barbarous empires, have had a manifest influence on the advancement of Christianity.

As the term development, when applied to the interpretation of the Bible, may seem to some a vague expression that can be made to signify very much or very little, it becomes proper to attempt to define in what sense, and under what limitations, it may be applied in the interpretation of those writings that are commonly known as the Holy Scriptures. In the first place, it must be noticed, as a fact of the very prime importance, that the Bible is made up of two distinct elements, inseparable, yet essentially different; the one constant, the other variable; the one stationary, the other admitting of indefinite expansion. Now, the principle of development can justly be

applied to those things only which are capable of growth or expansion. We do not speak of the development of a stone as we would of that of a tree. Again, our knowledge is progressive; the relations with which that knowledge deals are stationary, often, as in moral ideas, very few and simple; more frequently, as in natural science, unsuspected and unknown, and, in these, obedience is the condition of success. ‘*Natura parendo vincitur*,’ is Bacon’s celebrated law.

The unfolding of events in the progress of the history of mankind affords the widest field for development. So do also, but in a lesser degree, perhaps, the discoveries that for the last four centuries have been made of remote regions and dissimilar races of men. To this must be added the bringing to light, chiefly in our own day, the multiplied monuments of forgotten languages, and the memorials of extinct civilisation.

But it is not in the Bible alone that this co-existence of sameness with diversity is to be found. Thus in the annals of creation, while the ideas, or types, or patterns of things remain from eternity unchangeably the same in the mind of the Infinite, as models according to which He fashions all the works of his hands, the things so made are subjected by Him to the general conditions of dissolution and decay, or rather, to the universal law of change. So there are also two distinct constituent elements in the Bible—one of which continues unchangeably the same, being an emanation of the divine nature of the Godhead, while the other admits of continuous variation and successive development.—They are entirely distinct in their

nature, as much so as body and spirit. Under the first may be comprised the statements of those truths and the exposition of those doctrines which cannot be attained to by human reason, even in its loftiest and most aspiring flights, and which are therefore made the subject of a special revelation to mankind. We say *therefore*, because we have no ground for believing that any truth whatever has been expressly revealed to us, to the knowledge of which it is possible for man to attain by the laborious and continual exercise of his reasoning and perceptive powers. This is a very important principle, so important as to call for some further development.

There are many miraculous transactions recorded in the Bible in which certain physical transformations took place; yet to none of them do our great modern discoveries in science afford the smallest clue—we mean in the way of our being able to produce by mere human agency like results. Yet there are, on the other hand, many chemical, electrical, and other similar phenomena, now commonly known, which, if they had been presented to the multitudes that followed our Lord, would have appeared far more wonderful and strange than some of those which were truly miraculous and beyond all merely human imitation. Surely, before the Jews, in the time of Christ, some of the common properties of steam or electricity might have been exhibited to produce results in appearance far more miraculous than the change of water into wine, or the sudden healing of infirmity or disease.

It may, therefore, be safely assumed as a cardinal

principle, that the Almighty never makes any truth the subject of a direct or primary revelation, to which it is possible for man to attain by the exercise of the faculties of even the most highly gifted of his kind. Indeed, this is a truth to which we might arrive *à priori*, as the logicians say, without reference to matters of fact; because, if there be any truth attainable by human reason, it would seem superfluous to make it a subject of special revelation. To provide two avenues to knowledge when one alone is sufficient, would violate that economy of means so conspicuous in the works of Providence, in which we never find modes of action needlessly multiplied, nor contrivances thrown away.

Under the second head may be ranged accounts of the several occasions on which those eternal verities were made known to man. To these must be added records of contemporary historical events—their chronological order and geographical position. In the Bible are also contained the policy, the laws, and the history of the Jewish people expressly; and incidentally, to some extent, of the surrounding nations. There are also specimens of the poetry of the Hebrews; for such are the Psalms and the Book of Job.*

* 'The verities which are delivered in Scripture may be very fitly divided into *such as were written because they were necessary to be believed*, of which rank are those only which constitute and make up the covenant between God and man in Christ; and then *such as are necessary to be believed not in themselves but only by accident, because they were written*. Of which rank are many matters of history, of prophecy, of mystery, of policy, of œconomie, and such like, which are evidently not intrinsecal to the covenant,' &c.—Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*, p. 22.

Now there is great need carefully to distinguish between these two component elements of the Bible, the essential or primary truths themselves, and the matters in which, or along with which, they have been communicated to mankind. The truths to which we refer do not admit of development from external sources ; nor is it possible now to make any fresh discovery in matters of faith. For example, the cardinal doctrines of salvation were as clearly understood and as efficaciously applied by the early Christians as they can be by any of ourselves. They knew then as much as we know, or can know, of the mysteries of our faith. The Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Trinity, the Atonement, the great doctrines of Justification by Faith, the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, and the true nature of the Sacraments were as fully understood by the early Fathers as they possibly can be apprehended by any theologian of the present day. Accordingly, the Church of England allows and teaches that the first four centuries of the Church preserved the purity of the Christian faith. The authority of the first four general Councils is admitted. It is, therefore, clear that we have made no recent discoveries in those doctrines of Christianity which are set before us as of primary importance, and essential to salvation.*

* 'Whatever *doctrines* are essential to Christianity, those *doctrines* must have been taught, and held from the very first predication of the Gospel: for to assert the contrary is to assert a contradiction. But *opinions*, though perfectly true, may very possibly be only of modern growth.'—The Rev. G. S. Faber, *On the Origin of Expiatory Sacrifice*, p. 258.

Here the question arises, how is this ? And it is the more imperative to give a satisfactory reply to this enquiry, because we shall see presently that many discoveries have been made, and that great development has taken place with respect to the second component element, or the secondary truths of the Holy Scriptures. The question to be answered is, Why must the one element be stationary while the other is progressive ? Now, in answer to this, it may be sufficient to say, that the primary truths of the Gospel solely regard moral ideas and their relations. Such as right and wrong ; virtue and vice ; righteousness and sin ; justice, gratitude, veneration, holiness, mercy, cruelty, love, hatred, and the like. The relations between ideas of this class are indestructible and eternal. In other words, the relations between our moral ideas are in no way arbitrary, nor due to positive enactment. They have existed ever the same from eternity in the mind of the Infinite. They are unchanged and unchangeable. They are not, like the conceptions of our senses, matters of arbitrary constitution. Indeed, unless we make this the broad immovable platform of our reasoning in matters of religion, all our argumentations, however specious at first sight they may seem, will be found, if accurately examined, to run round in a circle. We must assume, as a first unquestioned principle, that the moral attributes of God are in harmony with those indestructible relations, or we can make no advance at all. This is the bond of union between natural and revealed religion.

We would refer those who may wish to inquire into this profound question, to the 'Intellectual System' and the 'Immutable Morality' of Cudworth. 'Whoever,' says Orme, 'whoever wishes to know all that can be said respecting liberty and necessity, fate and free-will, eternal reason and justice, and arbitrary omnipotence, has only to digest the "Intellectual System" of Cudworth.'

We will endeavour to make this somewhat plainer by illustration. We may, without any difficulty, understand that God, had He so chosen, in ordering the constitution of man's nature, might have so disposed our senses, and the corresponding qualities in things, as to have made other relations to take the place of those which He in his wisdom has established. Thus He might have rendered that which is sweet, bitter; made discord pleasing to the ear, and harmony insupportable. He might have so constituted the eye as to convey to our minds painful impressions from the contemplation of the glories of the heavens above, or from the sight of the flowers at our feet. We may easily conceive all this. The very limited number of senses with which we have been endowed, might have been so adapted that we should derive from them sensations wholly different from those we now receive.

Now we cannot apply the same kind of reasoning, and the same sort of illustration, in discussing the nature of our moral ideas. We cannot conceive of it as possible, under any constitution of things, that sin should become righteousness, or that vice should be

changed into virtue; that there is no essential difference between justice and injustice beyond express enactment, or that the love of God could ever become a sin. The relations between the ideas of right and wrong are indestructible. They are independent of time and place, like mathematical truths. Thus goodness would have continued lovely, even though it had never been enjoined; and evil would not have changed its nature had it never been prohibited. It is true, that worthy and pious men have held the doctrine which asserts that God's arbitrary decree alone constitutes the difference between good and evil.* They appear to be afraid that to acknowledge such an essential difference would derogate from the omnipotence of

* 'Divers modern theologers zealously contend that there is nothing absolutely intrinsically and naturally good and evil, just and unjust, antecedently to any positive command or prohibition of God, but that the arbitrary will and pleasure of God, by its commands and prohibitions, is the first and only rule and measure thereof. Whence it follows unavoidably that nothing can be imagined so grossly wicked, or so foully unjust or dishonest, but if it were supposed to be commanded by this Omnipotent Deity must needs upon that hypothesis forthwith become holy, just, and righteous. For though the ancient fathers of the Christian church were very abhorrent from this doctrine, yet it crept up afterward in the scholastic age, Ockham being among the first that maintained, "*That there is no act evil but as it is prohibited by God, and which cannot be made good if it be commanded by God.*" And so, on the other hand, as to good. And herein Petrus Alliacus and Andreas de Novo Castro, with others, quickly followed him.'—Cudworth, *Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, p. 9.

'It is all one to affirm that these are eternal *rationes*, essence of things and verities necessarily existing, and to say that there is an Infinite Omnipotent and Eternal Mind necessarily existing, that always actually comprehendeth Himself the essences of all things and their verities. For the *rationes* and essences of things are not dead things like so many statues, images, or pictures hung up somewhere by themselves alone in

God, as if an inability to alter his own nature were a real limitation of his power. It has been said, that what God commands is good, solely because He commands it, and what He prohibits is evil, simply because He forbids it.

Now, these principles, if logically followed out, might lead to very shocking conclusions. Thus, as it has been remarked, it would follow that, if God had ordained that hatred of Himself should be esteemed a virtue, it would be our duty to hate God! a horrid thought. A conclusion which of itself is enough to show that the premises from which it follows must

a world; neither are truths mere sentences and propositions written down with ink upon a book; but they are living things, and nothing but modifications of mind and intellect.'—Cudworth, *Immutable Morality*, p. 231.

'Now, the *wisdom* of God is as much God as the *will* of God; and whether of these two things in God, that is, *will* or *wisdom*, should depend upon the other, will be best determined from the several natures of them. For wisdom in itself hath the nature of a *rule* and *measure*, it being a most determinate and inflexible thing; but *will* being not only a blind and dark thing, as considered in itself, but also indefinite and indeterminate, hath therefore the nature of a thing regulable and measurable. Wherefore it is the perfection of *will*, as such, to be guided and determined by *wisdom* and *truth*, but to make *wisdom*, *knowledge*, and *truth* to be arbitrarily determined by *will*, and to be regulated by such a plumbean (*κανὼν μολύβδινος*) and flexible rule as that is, is quite to destroy the nature of it.'—*Immutable Morality*, p. 35.

'William of Ockham upheld that most pernicious of moral heresies, which represents morality to be founded on will. He went so far as to affirm that, "if God had commanded his creatures to hate Himself, the hatred of God would ever be the duty of man." This doctrine, which by necessary implication refuses moral attributes to the Deity, and contradicts the existence of a moral government, is practically equivalent to atheism.'—Sir James Mackintosh, *Preliminary Dissertation*, p. 310.

be false.* But St. Paul himself teaches that the relations of right and wrong are antecedent to revelation, in that remarkable and striking passage,—
 ‘For when the Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the law written in their hearts.†

* St. Augustine’s canon for the interpretation of Scripture, that the grammatical meaning of a passage must be subordinated to the requirements of immutable morality, is a rule of great value in itself, and particularly so as one of the illustrations he gives of the soundness of its principle bears upon the subject of this treatise.

‘Servabitur ergo in locutionibus figuratis regula hujusmodi. Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens; non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare; figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem Filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergo, præcipiens, passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quia pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.’—August. *de Doctrin. Christian.* lib. iii. c. 15.

‘In the interpretation of figurative passages, let the following canon be observed. If the passage be preceptive, either forbidding some flagitious deed, and some heinous crime, or commanding something useful and beneficent; then such passage is not figurative. But, if the passage seems, either to command some flagitious deed and some heinous crime, or to forbid something useful and beneficent: then such passage is figurative. Thus, for example, Christ says, “Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.” Now, in these words he seems to command a heinous crime or a flagitious deed. Therefore, the passage is a figure, enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and admonishing us to lay it up sweetly and usefully in our memory, because for us his flesh was crucified and wounded.’

St. Augustine does not give, what would be now the obvious papal explanation, that the Body of Christ was eaten and his Blood drunk in the Eucharist.

† Rom. ii. 14.

Written by whom? why, by the finger of Him who proclaimed the written law. Now, the relations between our moral ideas, which are the very subject matter of religion, being indestructible and unchangeable, it is *not possible* that any accessions to our knowledge, however great, whether in things temporal or spiritual, can alter or overthrow what is now established. Precisely in the same way, should great discoveries be hereafter made in the mathematical sciences, we may be certain of this, that, however great such discoveries might be, however widely they might enlarge the limits of the science, however far they might extend the horizon of our knowledge, nothing so discovered could overthrow or invalidate what had once been demonstrated. The truths of this science, which were established two thousand years ago in the groves of the Academy or in the halls of Alexandria, have lost nothing of their clearness or their certainty. Further yet, in the Bible there are no new definitions given, or indeed any definitions at all, of moral ideas. We are not told what it is which constitutes justice or its opposite,—love, cruelty, charity, righteousness, piety, or the like. Such words as patience, forbearance, long-suffering, contentment, humility, and many others of the same kind, are used by the inspired writers in their common accepted meaning without either definition or description. When St. Peter says, ‘Add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and

to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity,' he does not stop to tell us what he means by these words, nor does he attempt to define the ideas which these words are taken to represent. The Apostle takes for granted that his hearers are to use the words in the same sense as before. Christianity does not seek to suppress the moral ideas of mankind, or to destroy the relations which have ever existed between them. It superadds new relations to the old. The Scriptures hold that we have a moral nature, and it is not the object of revelation to supersede it, but to supplement it; not to pull up the foundations of natural knowledge, but to build upon them other knowledge of a different kind.

Thus, for example, we might be able without any revelation at all, without any supernatural instruction, from a careful examination of the external world, from the countless marks of providential foresight, and wise adaptation and the exact fitting in of innumerable parts together, everywhere visible, but above all from the tendencies of those marks of contrivance that meet us wherever we turn, from the preservation of the eye by the eyelid, up to the conservation of the solar system, —we might, I say, from considerations such as these, establish not only the existence of a supreme intelligent Being, but draw from them a not inaccurate notion of his attributes, especially so far as they affect ourselves; but we could not at all in this way discover, as Bishop Butler observes,* our relations to our Lord Jesus

* *Analogy*, Part II. chap. i.

Christ, and to the Holy Ghost. Revelation must make these known to us or we could never ascertain them at all. Here, it may be observed, that, although revelation added immeasurably to our knowledge, it did not destroy the elements of that previously existing knowledge, or change their relations. It strengthened, cleared, and sanctioned, but it did not weaken, confuse, or annul. In the same way, were it possible that another gospel should be revealed to us, although it might to an extraordinary degree amplify our present knowledge of Divine things, and clear up many a difficulty which now perplexes us, yet this new revelation could not abrogate the old. Although it might enable us to see plainly what we can now but imperfectly discern, yet still the objects would be the same. However vast such a revelation might be, it could only add to or explain, it could not detract from or subvert, any previous revelation given to us by the Almighty. To revert to a former illustration, were we to be told that great discoveries had recently been made by somebody in mathematics, although we should know nothing else about these recent discoveries, we might at least be sure of this, that the new truths could never disprove nor abrogate the old.

But, in the second element of which the Bible is composed, the material and outward form in which the spirit of truth is conveyed, the earthen vessels which contain the heavenly treasure, the conducting chain through which God's message is flashed upon mankind, we shall find both progress and development. Of

these the chief causes will be found in the spread of the Gospel, the fulfilment of prophecy, the discovery of historical monuments, a more exact acquaintance with the languages of antiquity, especially of those in which the Bible was originally written,* the growth of natural knowledge,—in fact, the growth of knowledge of every kind. Even the course of time itself imperceptibly † innovates and ultimately produces mighty change. So that the aspect which this secondary element of the Bible presents to man will vary from age to age in the progress of time.

Now, what is meant by the teaching of the Bible? Every book, worthy of the name, has some object or another in view; what is that of the Holy Scriptures? Surely, the Bible was not given with a view to teach men astronomy, or geology, or natural history, or any other science whatever. The primary truths of the Bible are ethical propositions and moral relations in their very highest form, those which bind man to his Maker and to his fellow men; while its chief purpose is to convey those primary truths, not merely to the enlightened, the educated, and the intelligent, but to the uncivilised, the ignorant and the dull. ‘Go ye into

* A revision of the authorised version of the Bible, a question now in process of discussion, would be a great step in the advancement of our knowledge of the secondary element referred to in the text. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that no better translation could possibly have been made at the time when it was compiled: itself a revision of older and less perfect translations.

† ‘What novator follows the example of time, which insinuates innovation so quietly, as is scarce perceptible to sense.’—Bacon, *Of the Advancement of Learning*, lib. vi.

all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' is our Lord's command and parting injunction. It is not, Go and teach knowledge of every kind to the civilized few, but go and impart a particular kind of knowledge to the uncivilized many. Hence, as we might expect, the language of the Bible is simple ; * it speaks of common things in common phrase, and homely idiom,† incidentally mentioning natural appearances as they are presented to the ordinary mass of mankind. In conveying this supernatural knowledge to our natural faculties, the writers of the different portions of the Bible have had to deal with certain facts in history, geography, and chronology, to describe physical phenomena, to refer to the manners and customs of various heathen and idolatrous nations. They drew up their statements for the use, in the first instance at least, of a barbarous and ignorant people, always prone to lapse into the heathen customs and idolatrous worship of the surrounding nations. Some of those inspired writers took an active part in the transactions they record, while the information of others could be no more than traditional. Unless, then, we are prepared to contend that every the slightest and most trivial circum-

* 'The word of God,' says Archbishop Leighton, 'speaks to *men* ; and therefore it speaks the language of the children of men.'

† 'The sacred writers,' says Simeon (*Hor. Homil.* append. vi. p. 325), 'speak strongly on all subjects, and never contemplate for a moment the niceties of criticism, or dream of their words being weighed in a balance.'

'Ea est orationis Scriptorum Sacrorum natura, ut ad vitæ communis loquendi consuetudinem quàm proximè accedat.'—Tittmann *de Synon.* p. 216.

stance mentioned in the Bible is recorded with as full a measure of divine inspiration as the statements of the most momentous Gospel verities, an inaccuracy in the statement of one of those secondary truths, or secular facts, will not in the smallest degree invalidate the authority of the Bible in its main object, the revelation of spiritual truth. Unless it can be shown that errors exist in the statements of those primary truths which the Bible professes to reveal to man, inaccuracies or oversights—nay, we may go further and say even errors—in those matters which are merely accessory and indifferent, would not derogate from the paramount supremacy of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith. It is not asserted that such errors do exist; the assumption is made to show the full breadth of the proposition laid down.

In this no more is claimed for the Bible than would freely be granted in the case of any other book. Should we, for example, deny the force of a mathematical demonstration, merely because it was put together in uncouth language? Should we refuse all credit to an historian who faithfully recorded those transactions of men which passed under his own eyes, only because his notions about astronomy happened to be erroneous? Should we reject the evidence of a witness as to what took place in his presence, because, while he gave his testimony with confidence, precision, and consistency as to the facts which fell under his own cognizance, he was vague in his notions about matters having no bearing on the facts to which he bore

witness? No! we should not so act, but, in the cases just now supposed, we would examine into the logical force of the presumed demonstration, we would weigh the credibility of the historian, and test his accuracy in those matters which fell strictly within his province, and we would inquire into the trustworthiness of the witness.*

Here the question may be asked, if we are not to accept the statements of physical facts recorded in the Bible as strict articles of our belief; if they are not to be received in their obvious sense as matters of rigid faith, why has any reference been made to them in the Bible at all? Now, a satisfactory reply to this objection is not hard to find. Whatever theory of creation be assumed, consistent with God's overruling wisdom and creative energy, His power and goodness will be alike manifest. And as the argument must proceed from natural to revealed religion, it is much to be able to show that the foresight, wisdom, and power, which are the attributes of the Author of the universe, are together with goodness and justice to be found also in Him who is the giver of revelation; so that the mute symbols of the visible creation teach the same lessons as the spoken words of His written law; or, as the argument is forcibly and tersely put by St. Paul, 'For

* The historians Suetonius and Tacitus give apparently very trustworthy biographies of Vespasian, so far as the facts came within their own knowledge; but they also relate how, by the assistance of the god Serapis, at Alexandria, he restored the blind to sight and the lame to the use of their limbs. Though we credit the history, we are not called on to believe the miracle.

the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead;* or, as it had been expressed long before by the Psalmist, 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work.'† This, too, is the cardinal idea that runs through the whole of the Apostle's address to the Athenians. He appeals to the visible works of God's creation, to the spirit of goodness that pervades them all, 'seeing He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things,'‡ to their adaptation to the needs, the pleasures, and the constitution of man. Such being the goodness of God as regards the temporal well-being of mankind, St. Paul makes the transition from natural to revealed religion, and continues, 'that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might find Him, though he be not far from every one of us, for in Him we live, move, and have our being:' so that as we are spiritually near Him; as we are in contact with Him, unfelt, unseen; as He is ever locally present to us, yet of that presence no outward sense can give us the slightest intimation, 'We ought not,' the Apostle proceeds, 'to think that the godhead is like unto outward and visible things, such as gold or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device.' He shows, too, that the world's knowledge is *progressive*, for the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent.

Thus we may clearly see why it was essential to

* Rom. i. 20.

† Psalm xix. 1.

‡ Acts xvii. 25.

identify the Creator of the universe with the Author of revelation. But *how* the world was made, or whether the development of God's procedure in relation to the advancement of the well-being of mankind may seem to be slow or otherwise, is of little importance for us to know, in a religious point of view, compared with the knowledge of the fact that the universe is the work of a Creative Mind, and the laws which rule that universe the fiat of a Divine Intelligence, and not the eternal emanation of a blind chance, or a deaf necessity. Though the march of events in the course of time may seem to us to be slow, yet in reality it is not so, if we measure its progress not by the length of the life of the individual, but by the duration of the human race upon the earth.

Now, the primary object of the Bible being, as we have shown, not to impart knowledge of every kind, but to make known to man certain truths of great moment, certain relations of the highest possible importance which he bears to God his Creator, God his Redeemer, and God his Sanctifier; relations to the knowledge of which he never could have attained by the exercise of his own reason: some persons are startled when any accession is made to our knowledge which seems to clash with established notions, or shocks popular prejudice, or which cannot be reconciled with the interpretations in common use with their own sect or party. They imagine that the authority of the Bible is just the same thing as the authority of their own version of it. They are not aware that even centuries

after centuries may pass away before the full force or true explanation of many passages of Scripture shall be entirely drawn forth or completely revealed. It is told of one of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt,* that he employed a celebrated architect to erect a magnificent lighthouse on the dangerous coast of Egypt. It was afterwards reckoned as one of the wonders of the world. The architect was required to place the king's name on the front of the edifice, but instead of so doing, he engraved his own name in deeply-sunk letters cut into the stone face of the tower; he then covered over the letters with plaster, and painted the king's name upon the plaster; as time wore on, the plaster cracked and dropped off, Ptolemy's name disappeared, while that of the true architect came forth to view, and remained conspicuous so long as the tower stood, a guide and beacon to the mariner on that treacherous coast. So men seem to be afraid that the everlasting pillar of truth, that column seen from afar off the black and stormy sea of doubt and disbelief, is giving way and crumbling to the ground because some bit of plaster they have stuck upon its face is cracking and falling off. Now, this is nothing less than the sheer spirit of unbelief. If their convictions were not unsettled, if they did not lack faith, they would hail every discovery in science, they would welcome every accession to our knowledge, they would rejoice at every triumph of man's intellect in the investigation of God's works; sure of this, that, though time might efface our inter-

* Lucian, Πῶς δεῖ ιστορίαν συγγράφειν, cap. 62.

pretations written on the plaster, the true inscription would at length appear 'graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever.'

'Let no man,' in the words of the profoundly learned Cudworth, 'let no man imagine that we can go too far, or be too well read in the book of God's *words*, Divinity, or in the book of God's *works*, Philosophy; but rather let men awaken themselves, and vigorously pursue an *endless progress* of proficiency in both.'

But, to proceed with the argument. If we were to attempt to decipher an inscription on some old monument, engraved in a language which we but imperfectly understood, and in consequence of that partial ignorance, had given of it an incorrect interpretation, and if, on becoming better acquainted with the language, and more familiar with inscriptions of this kind, we should at length discover that our translation, if not actually erroneous, fell far short of giving the full force and exact signification of the original inscription, should we do right to say that the inscription was false because we had misapprehended its meaning? Are the Holy Scriptures to be doubted because we have misunderstood them? Shall we pertinaciously adhere to the first translation, made when our knowledge was imperfect, as if it were of equal, or even of greater authority, than the original inscription? We must not forget that our English Bible, venerable though it be, is nothing more than the mere human version of the the divine original. There are many places in which other translations differ from it; but

these variations seldom affect the sense, and still more rarely touch the nature of any essential doctrine of our faith.

More exact translations of certain passages of the Bible are chiefly due to our improved knowledge of the history, manners, and customs of those ancient nations of which the Book treats ; to a more accurate acquaintance with the precise signification of the words and idioms of those languages, long since dead, in which the Bible was written ; but, above all, are we deeply indebted to those learned, gifted, pious, and laborious men, who, as well in this country as on the continent, have consecrated to the service of their Lord those talents which He has given into their charge. And is it more wonderful that, through the laborious researches of these men, we should grow in Scriptural knowledge, and attain to a more correct appreciation of the true sense of the Bible, than it is that—in other kinds of knowledge—the knowledge of the works of creation—we should gradually arrive at more correct notions through the investigations of scientific inquirers ? Surely, no one would be so absurd as to doubt that the world in which we live is governed on certain fixed principles and by a certain mode of procedure, which we, using a short and comprehensive phrase, call ‘ laws of nature,’ merely because men have fallen into the most egregious errors with respect to them ? It is only very slowly, bit by bit, as it were—that men have eliminated error, and thus gradually arrived at the truth ; often have they been compelled to retrace their

steps, and enter on another, and again another, path—often have they been compelled to pull down what they had painfully built up. Why, then, should we be surprised or alarmed if men have not all at once attained to truth—if we have to undergo the same difficulties in spiritual as in natural knowledge? Is it not more probable, more like what we might expect beforehand, if the heavens and the earth be the work of Him who is also the Author of the Bible, that we should find the same perplexities, the same doubts, the same uncertainties, in the one case as in the other? The similarity of the works bears witness that they have the same Author. An infidel once said, ‘ God ought to have written the revelations of His moral law on the face of the heavens, that the whole world might behold them;’ but the reply to this scoff is simple. Has He so written His physical laws there? We know that He has not. We know that they remained for ages undiscovered, hidden in the secret wisdom of the Creator. We are sure that whether secret or known, their action has never been suspended. The laws which the Almighty impressed on His creation remain unchangeably the same, whether we rightly interpret them or not. The truths of mathematics continue unchangeably the same; but through how many languages, idioms, and forms of demonstration have they passed from the days of Archimedes to our own? So, likewise, the laws which He has revealed in His Word are not altered by our erroneous interpretation of them. Bishop Butler puts the argument for the progressive develop-

ment of the Bible very forcibly.* ‘It is not at all incredible (says he) that a Book which has been so long in the possession of mankind should contain many truths as yet undiscovered ; for all the same phenomena and the same faculties of investigation from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before ; and possibly it might have been intended that events as they come to pass should open and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture.’†

But we may go further and say that it is not possible the Bible could contain accurate statements of physical or natural knowledge. Of those persons who appear to think that the Bible ought to be taken as an epitome or summary of scientific truth, it might fairly be asked, With what period of the world’s progress in knowledge would you have the Bible on an exact level ? Say with our own time. Well, then, let us suppose the Bible to have been so written as to come up to the level of the knowledge of our own day, that it contained precise and philosophical statements in astronomy, geology,

* Butler’s Analogy, Part II., chap. 3.

† And to the same purpose, the Hon. Robert Boyle, in his tract on the ‘Excellency of Theology,’ believes that ‘a further use may yet be made of the Scriptures than divines and philosophers seem to have thought of. We shall not do right either to theology or to the greatest repository of all its truths, the Bible, if we imagine that there are no considerable additions to be made to the theological discoveries we have already made, nor any clearer exposition of many texts of Scripture than are to be met with in the generality of commentators.’—Hon. Robert Boyle, *Works*, vol. iv. 16.

electricity, and the other natural sciences, so that we should behold our own knowledge in its very newest modern phase, reflected back to us from the Bible,—what would have been the consequences of such a supposed state of things? Why, that the Book would have been absolutely unintelligible to the many generations of mankind which have gone before us. Let us suppose, for the sake of illustration, that the properties of steam as utilized in the steam engine, or those of electricity as manifested in the telegraph, were distinctly referred to in the Bible, what would have been the result? Is it not that this premature revelation of those modern discoveries in science would have been during every age of the world, except our own, a stumbling-block in the way of the searcher after truth, and a snare to the feet of him who sought to give a reason for the hope that was in him? And, with regard to generations yet unborn, such a revelation of scientific truth would be manifestly incomplete or stale. So that, if the Bible *did not* contain full statements of scientific truth in its amplest developments and last perfection, it would be found to fall short of the knowledge that might be otherwise obtained at some future age of the world; and, if the Bible *did* contain and convey to us the most comprehensive expositions of natural knowledge brought up to its final state and utmost limit, it would be a sealed book, a mysterious volume, an unintelligible riddle to every generation of mankind, until we come down in imagination to that remotely future one before whom the hidden harmonies between God's

written word and works should be fully disclosed. We are not to imagine that the light which was ordained to 'lighten every man that cometh into the world,' and which is thus to shed the mild radiance of its beams on every successive generation of mankind, is to be focalized, so to speak, and concentrated on our own. We are thus led to the conclusion, that, if the Bible had been written with a view to be on a level with the scientific teaching of any particular age of the world, it must so far have been an unintelligible record to all the ages which should precede that highly favoured time, and a partial and imperfect one as to those which were to follow. To show the force of the argument, the rigorous accuracy of the physical theories then in vogue is assumed. How much stronger its force if it should turn out that they had to be modified or rejected!

One can well understand what a gratification it would have been to a religious philosopher of the middle ages, how it would have strengthened his faith, had he been able to find the Ptolemaic system of astronomy plainly laid down in Genesis; or how it would have delighted the schoolmen to have discovered the physics of Aristotle in the book of Job.* But, though such harmonies and coincidences of science and religion would have been highly satisfactory to the

* 'Huic autem vanitati nonnulli ex modernis summa levitate ita indulserunt, ut in primo capitulo Geneseos, et in libro Job, et aliis scripturis sacris philosophiam naturalem fundare conati sunt.'—Bacon, *Nov. Org.* lib. i. aph. 65.

learned men of those times, it hardly need to be said what *now* would be the effect, were these once much-prized systems of astronomy and philosophy actually to be found in the Bible.

No doubt it is a very natural wish, a pardonable feeling in earnest and pious men, to desire to trace their secular knowledge through the pages of the Bible, and to find it thus confirmed. But we have no right to expect that a book written for all time, 'the everlasting possession' of mankind, should have special reference to our own age of the world. To the prevalence of this feeling it is chiefly owing, that interpreters of the Bible have so often laboured to bring the solution of ancient prophecy within the limits of their own times, and that Antichrist has been successively identified with Mahomet, the Pope, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

Again, it has been objected to the Bible that its style is in some places homely, and that its idioms are not purely classical, as if it were the purpose of the Holy Scriptures to give lessons in composition or grammar.*

But it is not by the discoveries of physical science alone that our accepted interpretations of the Bible are modified. A more accurate knowledge of the languages in which it is written, and the profounder

* Professor Hey observes, it cannot diminish our respect for the Scriptures to look upon them as written in popular language, since, if they were not, they would be written in no language at all—i.e. in no words which would convey ideas to such persons as they were addressed to.—Professor Hey, L. vol. iii. p. 243.

researches of learned men, have had a precisely similar effect; so that our critical knowledge of the language, idiom, and style of the Bible is now very different from its state in remote times.

It is not in the Bible only that we may discern and trace the distinction between primary and secondary constituent elements. The principles of what is called the law of nations are accepted by every community not positively barbarous, and their influence is as wide as the bounds of civilisation; while local and municipal institutions are infinitely diversified in their laws, privileges, and customs.

But this is not all. The Apostles themselves sanction those views. Thus, while St. Paul will admit of no compromise, hear of no concession, tolerate no difference of opinion, on the great primary truths of revelation, he modifies his injunctions and reconsiders his decisions with regard to the secondary element to which we have so frequently referred. Of the former, he says, 'Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed;' while, with regard to the latter, such as rites or ceremonies, the observance of the feast day or the fast, he tenderly and considerately suggests, 'Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not;' and again, 'We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak;' and this—conceding the right of private judgment—'because to his own master he standeth or falleth.'

And, it is further to be observed, that the sacred

writers, as if to establish this distinction between eternal verities and contingent facts, have, as it were, gone out of their way to use a studied inaccuracy of expression, and to subordinate rigidly correct statement to vivid delineation. When St. Luke asserts 'that there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven,'* he cannot mean that this statement shall be taken in its strict literal meaning, because he must have known, just as well as we know, that, speaking in terms of rigid precision, Jews were not to be found in *every* nation under heaven. But does this impugn the essential accuracy of the general statement? No; it only conveys more vividly the writer's meaning, than if he had set himself down to tabulate, with cold arithmetical precision, all the Jews that were there, and then to name the adopted country of each. When Job declares that if his grief were weighed it would be found heavier than the sand of the sea,† it is evident this complaint must not be taken in its literal sense, for a load of grief cannot be counterpoised by a weight of sand. When Paul says 'that the descendants of Abraham were as many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable,'‡ it would justly be thought a silly question if one were to ask whether the Apostle meant to include telescopic stars in his comparison, or whether the sands of the great South Sea were to be reckoned in his enumeration. We must take it as a figurative

* Acts ii. 5.

† Job vi. 2.

‡ Heb. xi. 12.

expression, as the Apostle manifestly intended it should be taken. There would be no difficulty and but little use in swelling the list with like expressions. Now there is nothing strange in this way of writing or speaking. In common conversation or in historical narrative we use the forms of speech that will most clearly and vividly convey our meaning, without caring whether our phraseology be in accordance with strict scientific statement or not. We speak of the sun rising, of the sun going down, of the setting of the stars, of the moon's light, without meaning thereby to commit ourselves to any philosophical hypothesis. This manner of conveying information, suited as it is to the ordinary capacities of men and to the uses of language, together with errors or mistakes in the translation of the Bible into our modern tongues, will be found in a great measure to explain any anomalies that may apparently be found in its narratives. That there may be errors in a translation which have no place in the original may easily be explained. When a word comes before a translator, since almost every term in a language has different meanings, he selects out of these that which, in his opinion—according to the actual state of his knowledge—gives the most reasonable and likely signification, and which, in his judgment, best expresses the sense of the passage. But it does not, therefore, follow that this translation can be the only one, or must be the most accurate. A more profound and varied knowledge than was at the time attainable might have suggested a very

different version.* It must also be remembered that the persons who composed the several parts of the Bible, when not under the influence of Divine inspiration, were men such as we are, subject to the same infirmities of temper, swayed by like passions, moved by the same influences, and hindered by the same obstacles. St. Paul, who was not, as he says himself, a 'whit behind the very chiefest of the Apostles,' dissented in some things from his brethren. They could not both, therefore, be under the influence of inspiration at the same time. 'The contention between Paul and Barnabas was so sharp that they departed asunder.' St. Peter was severely censured by the same Apostle at Antioch for his time-serving dissimulation.

It may be still further observed that, were the propositions that constitute the general outline of any physical science so clearly set forth in the Bible, that we might in this way be able to arrive at them, instead of discovering them, as we now do, one by one, by the

* Professor Hey (L. i. chap. 10 and § 1) states that we should endeavour to interpret expressions or discourses of Scripture by entering into the circumstances of those to whom they were immediately addressed. This is to be done by endeavouring to *put ourselves in the place of those who spoke* or heard. As we are far removed from the circumstances of those for whom they were calculated, we should see what knowledge the persons rightly circumstanced for understanding them had, which we had not; and we should analyse those acts of the mind by which they were able, habitually, without being conscious of it, to assign to their words precisely that degree of meaning which they were intended to convey. Now, in order to bring ourselves into the situation of others, and learn their ideas and feelings, we must acquaint ourselves with their customs and opinions.

ordinary methods of deduction, induction, and experiment, it would plainly follow that the great doctrines of our faith were no longer the *exclusive* subjects of Divine revelation; but that systems of astronomy, geology, and natural history were revealed in the same way, on the same authority, and should, therefore, be treated as matters of faith.* Hence it would also follow that a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Atonement, or any other eternal verity, would stand on no higher ground than geological theories or astronomical systems. And, moreover, we should reach this other conclusion besides—that that knowledge, the discovery of which, by the exclusive use of man's faculties, is the birthright of generations yet unborn, would be once for all anticipated, instead of being gradually unfolded, age after age, as the progress of mankind might require, and as the entire analogy of the course of God's providence in the government of the world would lead us to expect.

It may, then, safely be taken as a general rule in the administration of God's providence that the knowledge which mankind can attain to by the help of their senses or faculties, by change of place, or by the lapse of time, will not be revealed by a miraculous interposition. This is, indeed, a great truth and an important principle. It may lead men clearly to see why Faith is so much lauded and so much insisted on in the Bible; for, as

* Trustworthy writers assert, that the mixture of physical science—especially geography and astronomy—with theology, in the Brahminical systems is leading among the Hindoos to the subversion of their faith: Europeans having demonstrated to them that their so-called physical science is false.

our senses convey to us a perception of the existence of an outer world, and of the things therein—as our faculties make known to us the relations of these things, and by a reflex act their own operations as well—so Faith realises for us the existence of a spiritual world; and in this sense Faith is rather a superadded faculty of the mind fitted for the sole perception of spiritual things than a mere naked belief in testimony. Of course, to believe in testimony is an element of Faith, in the same way as to believe in the reality of an outward world, or in the ‘stability of the order of nature,’ * is a necessary element in all natural knowledge. However, it is not on any such ground as this that its importance is dwelt upon in the Scriptures; but, as the sense of hearing is a necessary condition of our perception of the notes of music, as without the eye we can have no knowledge of light and colours, as without memory we could not group together the daily occurrences of life, so without Faith we could not spiritually apply to ourselves the truths of revelation. As touch is the consciousness of a substance without us, as sight is the evidence of things beyond us, so ‘Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.’ †

All our faculties have their own proper objects, their own fitting material to operate upon. It would be quite as nugatory to submit questions of physical

* Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 220.

† Heb. xi. 1.

science to faith, or the geometrical conceptions of the pure intellect to moral emotion, as to bring the eternal verities of Revelation under the dominion of human reason, without help or guidance. The eye does not judge of sounds, nor the ear of colours. Therefore, each organ and each faculty must be restrained within its own proper range of action.

This also shows, by another line of argument, quite distinct from that recently followed out, that we are not to expect development in the mysteries of faith, because they are not admitted into our minds through the ordinary inlets of sensation, which are always present with us, and which are always bringing to us fresh accessions of knowledge. But the doctrines of the Christian faith are fixed, they do not admit of additions, they are therefore not susceptible of change; while the secondary element, to which we have so often referred, will be, with regard to mankind, in a state of perpetual variation, and receive much development.

But, above all, this unceasing change of aspect is, in an especial manner, due to that universal law which pervades all God's creation—the law of change. It is an exemplification of this eternal law, binding on the universe, that no race of mankind, no nation, no form of government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, no creed, no institution of any kind whatever, is exempted from change, or secured against decay. A joyous youth, a vigorous manhood, a long and green old age, are followed by decrepitude and death. The law is universal. It admits of no exception among created

things. Nothing is permanent.* There is, moreover, this peculiarity to be observed in the successive evolutions of this great law, that it is not periodic; or, in other words, a state of things that has once existed is never reproduced. The great Platonic year is a fable, a myth. He that sitteth on the throne from everlasting hath said, 'Behold, I make all things new.'† Life returns not to the dead. Hopeless, indeed, are the attempts, which, often made, have never yet been found permanently successful, to breathe life into an institution that had once died out, or to restore in its original integrity a state of things that once had passed away. How many revolutions and wars, bloody and bootless, have been caused by unavailing attempts to set aside this law! True, success, in some cases, seemed to have crowned such efforts; vitality apparently was restored; but it was a mere galvanic action on the dead. Life had fled, never more to return. The political examples of this great truth are many and signal; but we cannot dwell upon them here. We have one recent remarkable illustration of it, the abortive attempts now being made to restore in the Church of England a state of things that belongs to the remote past. But the immutable laws of succession and change are not to be so abrogated. Happy is the nation that has recognised it: powerful for good will be the Church establishment that shall not attempt

* 'Not even our solar system, if the theory of the existence of a resisting ether be admitted.'—See Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, No. 577.

† Rev. xxi. 5.

to set it aside. Floated along on the irresistible tide of events, it will not be left stranded on the beach of time.

But it may be said, Why should not this universal law of change affect the great primary truths of the Bible as well as those which are called secondary? Why may not they too be subject to the law of change? The answer is briefly this. These ideas and their relations have existed from eternity in the mind of the Infinite and Eternal. Why many of those truths were not revealed to man until the coming of Christ in the flesh, 'whose advent,' in the words of St. Peter, 'was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world,'* it is as idle to ask, as to inquire why other eternal truths, such as mathematical propositions, were not many of them discovered until our own day.

The truth of the latter does not depend on the time when they were investigated, nor the truth of the former on the time when they were revealed. They were not born in time; they do not die in time. The enduring tables of stone, on which the eternal law of God was engraved by the hand of Moses on Sinai's 'rugged steep,' crumbled away thousands of years ago, but the law is still newly cut upon 'the fleshly tables of the heart.'† Centuries have gone by since the ark, which contained God's covenant with his people, mouldered into dust, but the conditions of that covenant are still in force. The Temple stands no longer, looking stability, as the agitated crowds

* 1 Peter, i. 20.

† 2 Cor. iii. 3.

beneath its dome drank in the words of grace and life from lips that 'spake as never man spake.' One stone rests not on another, but the words still live, and breathe, and burn; their sound is gone out into all lands, even unto the end of the world. The olive-trees that shaded the fountains of the Garden of Gethsemane, mute witnesses of our Saviour's suffering and passion, died out ages ago, leafless and gnarled. The valley now lies arid, bleak, and bare. The wells are all dried up. But the agonies of that hour still spring up a 'well of living water,' a fount of hope and source of consolation in many a Christian heart. Thus, ideas live, and grow, and flourish, while the material forms, in which they were delivered, in the slow lapse of time perish through decay; they cease to live, and are forgotten.

We have thus shown, at some considerable length, that the principle of development may with just propriety be applied to the interpretation of the Bible. It may easily happen that the true foundation—the real nature of any ordinance—may not be brought to light for long ages after its institution. Whether the Eucharist be a rite of simple commemoration or an ordinance of deeper signification as a feast after sacrifice, will not in the smallest degree affect its efficacy as regards the simple believer, if he will only receive it as Christ ordained it. A draught of water in the desert will not be the less refreshing to the thirsty traveller, even though he be ignorant of its chemical composition.

CHAPTER IV.

ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

HAVING at some considerable length, in the preceding pages, inquired how far the Eucharist may be considered as a mere commemorative rite, or held to be a sacrificial feast, it becomes necessary to approach the discussion of that doctrine, which by a very large proportion of the Christian world is believed to be the keystone of the Christian faith. We shall endeavour to ascertain its origin, and to show that its progress may be traced to an attempt to harmonize certain Scriptural statements with the principles of a vain and exploded philosophy.

Transubstantiation has been defined by the Council of Trent as follows:—

‘ This Holy Synod declares, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of Christ our Lord ; and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his Blood. Which conversion is suitably and properly called by the Holy Catholic Church, Transubstantiation.’ *

* ‘ Sancta hæc synodus declarat per consecrationem panis et vini, conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam Corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus. Quæ conversio convenienter et proprie sanctâ Catholicâ Ecclesiâ Transubstantiatio est appellata.’—*Con. Trident., Sess. xiii. cap. iv. p. 125.*

Those who uphold this article of faith, assert that it may be traced back, through the early Fathers of the Church, quite up to the times of the Apostles. In support of this statement, they bring forward passages selected from the voluminous writings of the Fathers, some of which, when viewed in the light of ages long subsequent, might at first sight seem to give some countenance to this doctrine. But the early Fathers not having the fear of controversy before their eyes, took no thought to define their terms or to limit their propositions. They wrote, inspired by the warmth of an impulsive piety. We must bear in mind that their notions of substance were shadowy and vague, when contrasted with the sharply defined and precise definitions that were afterwards laid down at a later age of the Church.

It must, however, be admitted that the elements of the sacrament were often mentioned by them, in language which, interpreted by the light of ages long subsequent, would seem to countenance this doctrine. But when their works are examined, and their statements compared, they will be found not to have had the remotest conception of this physical change of the substance of the sacrament. The change they contemplated was a moral change.* The fervour of their piety, and the exaggeration of an oriental style, led

* 'Cum igitur de Sacramentis, mentionem faciunt Patres *Naturæ* et *substantiæ*, non φυσικῶς sed Θεολογικῶς, hoc est, non ut philosophi naturales loquuntur, sed ut homines de divinis rebus disserentes.'—The Author of the *Diallacticon*, p. 63.

them to the use of language open to misrepresentation. We cannot do better than give the words of the Rev. George Stanley Faber, in his work on Transubstantiation.

‘Something like a plausible case in favour of Transubstantiation may doubtless be made out by adducing portions of the often declamatory and rhetorical statements of the Fathers, *provided only we keep in the background the explanation repeatedly given by these same Fathers of their own gorgeous phraseology*: and this not quite equitable plan constitutes, so far as I have observed, the *cheval de bataille* of the Latin divines in the matter of Transubstantiation.

‘But, the moment the *explanation* is fairly laid before the reader; the moment he is informed, that the change in the bread and wine, produced by the words of consecration, is declared to be of the same nature and quality as the change in a building, produced by the words of consecration, which transmute it from a house into a Church; or as the change in an individual, produced by Baptism, which transmutes him from a child of wrath into a child of grace; or as the change in the candidate for the Priesthood produced by ordination, which transmutes him from a laic into cleric; for all these illustrations are carefully employed; that is to say, the moment he is informed that the Fathers, according to no interested Protestant gloss, but by *their own* explanation of *their own* language, spoke, in the case of the Eucharistic elements, not of a *physical* but of a *moral* change; he will be apt to think that Dr.

Wiseman's overwhelming force of tradition must be restricted to the floating oral tradition of the modern Roman Church.*

Hence the justice of the remark made by Bishop Burnet:—

‘ To apply this to the matter we are upon, we find none of these subtleties among the ancients. They seem to apprehend none of those difficulties, nor do they take any pains to solve or clear them. Yet they may be rather thought by some too full than too sparing in the canvassing of difficulties. And this, to name no more, appears very evidently to be St. Augustin's character. Yet neither he nor any of the Fathers seem to have been sensible of the difficulties in this matter. They neither state them nor answer them.†

This statement of Bishop Burnet is explained by Dr. Hampden (Bishop of Hereford), in his *Bampton Lectures*, Lec. vii. p. 329:—

‘ The controversies of the ninth and tenth centuries exhibit the theory of the sacraments in what may be called an unfinished state. They are only the com-

* ‘ Certainly, the sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord which we receive, are a divine thing: because by these we are made partakers of the divine nature. Nevertheless, the substance or nature of the bread and wine ceases not to exist; and assuredly the image and similitude of the Body and Blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries.’

‘ This is the specific declaration of Pope Gelasius himself in the fifth century.’—The Rev. G. S. Faber, *On the Doctrine of Transubstantiation*, p. 13.

† Bishop Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 424.

mencement and outline of what was afterwards worked out by the introduction of the philosophy of Aristotle into the subject. The disputes had been, whether there was a real divine efficacy in the consecrated symbols themselves, so that they were no longer the same as before consecration; or whether they remained the same in themselves and yet possessed a mystical efficacy, in the act of being received. The point in controversy is, in what sense the words *really* and *truly* are to be understood, when affirmed of the presence of Christ. Both parties affirm that Christ is really and truly present in the Eucharist; both affirm that a change is worked on the bread and wine by consecration, so that they are then verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ. But on one side it is denied that this reality and truth are to be sought in the bread and wine, or that the change is a physical one, though real as to efficacy or virtue. On the other side it is contended that this reality and truth of the Divine presence, must be in the consecrated elements themselves; or otherwise they are mere signs without any latent virtue. But in this case, the sacraments of the New Law, as the Christian Sacraments were termed, in contrast with the types and ordinances of Judaism, would be inferior to those of the Old Law. For the latter, it was admitted, were the shadows of Christ—they contained Christ by way of anticipation—whereas the latter would be thus reduced to empty signs.'

Previously to the discussion of this much-disputed article of faith, it will be well to make some pre-

liminary observations on a system of natural philosophy which, though at the present day utterly forgotten, at one time ruled men's minds as rigidly as the papal system itself.

To account for the origin of Transubstantiation, we shall show how it mainly rests, not on the teaching of Scripture, but on the principles of the scholastic philosophy.

Substance, as defined by the schoolmen, was a very different thing from substance as it is understood by the world, and in the business of common life. The substance of the former had neither colour, taste, nor smell: it could not be said that it was either hot or cold, light or heavy. It had not even extension. All those familiar things we see and handle—which we have ever before us and about us—were called accidents. Naked substance—substance when not clothed with accidents—was invisible, impalpable, insonorous, inodorous, tasteless, and as many other negative epithets as we can apply. Substance was the support of accidents, as the tortoise in the Indian fable supported the world.*

* Bishop Berkley, the most celebrated of the Idealist school, which may be said to date back to the time of Plato, denies the existence of matter. He asserts that we have, and can have, no evidence of its existence. 'When we do our utmost,' says Berkley, 'to conceive the existence of external bodies, we are all the while contemplating our own ideas.' This argument cannot be refuted. We may elude it by appealing to what Dugald Stewart calls the *fundamental laws of human belief*.—See Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 13.

'The reader must hold in mind that Berkley is combating the

Now, we have not the faintest shadow of a reason, founded either on observation or experiment, to warrant us in the inference that the powers and properties of the constituent elements of matter can be withdrawn from them, or that atoms can be transmuted into other atoms, or that they are

existence of the *substance* of Aristotle and the schoolmen; that substance of which nothing can be predicated but negatives, as we have shown. He casts no doubt on the reality of our knowledge; he does not call in question the impressions made on our senses; for, as he adds, "It were a mistake to think that what is here said derogates in the least from the reality of things." He distinctly states, that he "does not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend either by sense or reflection. That the things I see with mine eyes and touch with my hands *do exist—really exist*, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence we deny is that which philosophers call matter or corporeal substance. And in doing of this, there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it."—Bishop Berkley, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, sec. xxxiv.

He thus enforces this disclaimer: 'If any man thinks this detracts from the existence or reality of things, he is very far from understanding what hath been premised in the plainest terms I could think of.'—*Ibid.*, sec. xxxvi.

In a word, Berkley admits the reality of *accidents*, but denies that of *substance*. He sees no use for it, and asserts 'that his theory would settle many questions in religion,' evidently referring to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

But before the time of Berkley, another writer, of far less celebrated name, the Rev. Arthur Collier, rector of Langford Magna, published in 1713 a work under the title of *Clavis Universalis*, in which he clearly anticipates Berkley's ideal theory. Of the non-existence 'of substance, he believes his opinion may be of great use, especially in religion, and he applies it in particular to put an end to the controversy about Christ's presence in the Sacrament.' It is needless to give any extracts from his book: his language is rugged and obscure, displaying none of the graceful charms of Berkley's limpid style. It may be added, that Berkley's theory is a development—a very full one—of that of Malebranche.

at all alike in substance. Instead of one universal, all-sustaining substance, there would seem to be as many independent substances as molecules. While their reciprocal combinations are infinite, seemingly indestructible, they rigidly resist annihilation or internal change.*

‘The word substance,’ says Dr. Hampden, ‘was employed in these controversies, but it was not used in that exact metaphysical sense in which we find it employed in the Trinitarian Controversies, or which it acquired in the course of the scholastic discussions. The Latins of the ninth century were infants in philosophy, compared with their predecessors of the fourth century. They understood, accordingly, at this period, by substance, chiefly the gross idea which we commonly attach to the term, when we speak of the substance of anything, meaning the principal or most important part of it. The idea of substance as the support or basis of accidents, was not familiarly recognized, it seems, by the Latin of the middle age, until the revived study of Aristotle had once more restored it to that sense.’

But it was at a much later age—on the revival of learning in the west—that the philosophy of Aristotle

* ‘To him who has learned to consider bodies as, what they truly are, a multitude of separate and independent corpuscles, there is no change of identity, and cannot be any change of identity, in all the phenomena or changes of the universe. The atoms which alone existed, continue as before; and all which constitutes the phenomenon or varieties of successive phenomena is a change of their place or tendency.’—Dr. Thomas Brown, *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Lect. xiv.

was applied to give form and consistency to this celebrated article of faith. We shall in vain attempt to show how such a form of belief, founded on a 'phantastic' philosophy, could have been accepted with such unquestioning faith, unless we bear in mind the crass ignorance of those ages, the entire absence of all intelligent conception of the laws of the external world: when there was no chemistry but that of the alchemists—the imponderable properties of matter being wholly unknown—when there was no astronomy but that of Ptolemy, and the knowledge of the earth's surface was but little advanced beyond that of Herodotus or Strabo.

In this dearth of all real physical science, we may discern the cause of the absolute sway which the supercilious dogmatism of Aristotle* and the quibbling speculations of the schoolmen exerted over the minds of men. The interpretation of the Bible was, to a very great extent, based on the development of the scholastic philosophy. There was not only the plain grammatical meaning of the text; but as many mystical, typical, and symbolical senses besides, as the fertile but perverted ingenuity of the ecclesiastical commentators could invent.

* 'Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Patricius enumerates twelve thousand commentators on the works of Aristotle.'—*Patricius Venetus, Discuss. Peripatet.*, tom. i.

'In the reign of Francis I. (1542), the writings of Aristotle were held in such veneration that, whoever denied their orthodoxy, was persecuted as an infidel.'—*Lauroij de Var. Fortun. Aristot. in Academ. Paris, Oper.* tom. iv. p. 206.

While in some respects these writers were well fitted to discharge the laborious duties they had undertaken, in other and important qualifications they were deficient. Unskilled in the rules of evidence, they were credulous ; unacquainted with physical laws, they could not distinguish the miraculous from the natural ; unfamiliar as they were through the entire want of printed books and the general dearth of manuscripts, they were, some of them, comparatively ignorant ; in the absence of facilities for travelling, they were, in a great measure, restricted to an acquaintance with what was said and done in their several communities. It is truly wonderful that with all their disadvantages, they were able to do so much as they have done in leaving us such monuments of their industry and piety.*

* They were credulous, as Eusebius and St. Augustine when they vouch for the authenticity of the prophetic verses of the Erythræan Sibyl.

In the figure of the Cross, Justin Martyr finds many analogies with things sacred and profane. Thus the sea could not be passed over unless the ship had the yard-arm attached to the mast ; the ground could not be cultivated unless by implements of the shape of a cross ; the human figure is of the shape of a cross. . . . After some other like instances, he adds, 'Joshua was victorious over Amalek, so long as Moses could keep his arms uplifted in the form of a cross. See the passage in Grabe on Justin, commencing with the words *κατανόησατε γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ εἰ ἔνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖσθαι*, &c.

On this passage, Dr. Grabe remarks, 'Justin here gives quite a foreign sense in this passage ; nor must the holy martyr be blamed overmuch ; because it was the custom of that age, as well among Jews as Christians, to interpolate foreign senses into the sacred text.'

'Alium autem sensum tradit hoc loco Justinus, qui nimis longe quidem petitus videtur : nec tamen S. Martyr idcirco temere reprehendus, quod mos istius ævi tam inter Judæos quam Christianos obtinuerit, sacro textui haud innatos sensus inferre.'—Grabe, *Justin Martyr, Dial.* Part II. p. 325.

Transubstantiation may therefore be defined as the result of an attempt to apply the principles of the

So also Justin gives as a fact, that the seventy translators of the Septuagint who were sent from Jerusalem to Ptolemy, King of Egypt, to translate the Bible, were shut up in seventy different cells at Alexandria, and without having any communication, one with the other, produced versions word for word identically the same. He adds that when he was himself at Alexandria he saw the ruins of those cells.

Justin commits an anachronism of nearly three hundred years, when he states in his *Apology* that Ptolemy sent to Herod to ask him to send learned men to Alexandria to translate the Bible into Greek. Hence the Septuagint.

Irenæus, speaking of the number of the Gospels, says 'It is impossible there could have been more or less than four. For there are four climates, and four cardinal winds. . . . The Church, therefore, was to have four pillars, blowing immortality to every quarter, and giving life to men.'

Τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου, ἐν ᾗ ἔσμεν εἰς καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, &c.—Grabe, *Irenæus*, lib. iii. p. 220.

Much in the same way, Tertullian explains why the number of the Apostles was twelve, because this number was prefigured by the Creator. There were twelve wells in Elim; twelve gems in the vest of Aaron; twelve stones chosen by Joshua out of the river Jordan, by all which the twelve apostles were signified, who, like fountains, were to water the dry desert of the Gentile world, like gems to illuminate the sacred vestments of the Church, which Christ the High Priest put on; and, like stones, were firm in the faith.—Tertul. *Con. Marcion*. lib. iv. p. 519.

And Clemens Romanus adduces the story of the phoenix rising from her ashes as a foreordained type of the Resurrection.

Dodwell, one of the most earnest and discriminating admirers of the fathers, admits that their methods of reasoning are sophistical and declamatory; that they fall far short of the moderns, who excel them not only in learning and philosophy, but in the knowledge of antiquity, and even of their own languages.

'Quin bonas litteras studiosius excultas a nuperis nostris Ecclesiæ reformatoribus libenter agnoscimus. Nec in philosophia modo, sed in antiquitate in ipsis etiam linguis eorum temporum vernaculis. Sed et pressiore nostris et solidiorem argumentandi agnoscimus, quam sit alia illa laxior et sophistica et declamatoria quæ non apud Patres duntaxat sed et alios eorundem temporum scriptores erat receptissima.'—Dodwell *Prefat. ad dissertat. in Iren.* § 15.

On the universal symbolism of the cross, see an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1870.

natural philosophy of Aristotle to the interpretation of the letter of Scripture. Aristotle taught, or at least the schoolmen believed he taught, that the external world consisted of Substance and its Accidents: the former being named *hypostasis* or *substance*, the latter denoting its *attributes* or secondary qualities, as they have been named by later philosophers; such as taste, smell, colour, hardness, weight, or the like. Aristotle further taught that this substance or *materia prima* exists in a state of continuous transmutation or perpetual change, and that hence were evolved all the phenomena of the outer world. The actual existence of this matter becomes known to us only through the operation on our organs of perception of those secondary qualities by which this original matter is veiled. Deprived of its accidents, were such a thing possible or intelligible, its existence could never become known to us. It is therefore quite conceivable, though perhaps impossible, that the accidents or attributes continuing unchanged, the hypostasis,* or substance, might undergo an essential change or transmutation, which we by no possibility could discover.

The full tide of modern physical discovery bears us day by day further away from the guesses of Aristotle and his followers. It had been better for Christianity

* ὑπόστασις, ὕλη, Substantia, Substratum, Materies, Materia prima, Substance, Matter, Support of accidents, Understanding—all are various phases of expression of the one cardinal idea of *something*—whether body or mind—that *stands under* (i. e. *sub stans*) accidents or attributes, or secondary qualities. It is the *stuff* of which things that *are* are made.

had the theologians of the middle ages not aspired to be wise above that which is written ; had they not committed themselves to any physical theory of matter, and had kept wide asunder the mystical forms of the Bible and the philosophical speculations of Aristotle.

‘ It remained, then,’ says Dr. Hampden, ‘ for later discussion, for the restless spirit of scholasticism to analyse, by the philosophical power of language, the operation of grace in the sacraments. The subtle speculations about *matter* and *form*, *substance* and *accident*, were accordingly introduced, to establish and perfect the theory of instrumental efficacy ascribed to the rites themselves. And it is upon these speculations that the doctrine of the sacraments, and in particular of transubstantiation, is maintained in the Church of Rome even now ; amidst all the accessions of light from improved science, which the world has obtained since the days of scholasticism. A review of any of the defences of transubstantiation, which have been put forth in the course of the last few years, will convince anyone how completely bound up with the theories of substance and accident, and matter and form, that tenet is ; and that consequently the tenet and the theories must be false or true together. But if, as is the fact, those theories are mere assumptions in physics, not resting on observation but on distinctions, existing only in the mind and applied to the analysis of external objects : it must appear that the process of transubstantiation is entirely an assumed one, and that it ought to be discarded as an

idol, at once, of religion and philosophy. . . .’—*Hampden’s Bampton Lectures*, Lec. vii. p. 331.

To anyone who shall patiently inquire into the principles of the so-called scholastic philosophy of the middle ages, opposed, as they are now found to be, to the results of experiment and observation, it will be abundantly clear that it constituted the foundation of that physical theory of matter which the Church of Rome incorporated with her teaching in the doctrine of transubstantiation.*

Aristotle taught that the primary elements, which he reduced to four—fire, air, earth, and water—were in a state of perpetual flux, or change. Why, then, might not such a ‘transmutation’ take place in the *hypostasis*, or *substance*, of one body, as that its accidents should still continue the same? Is it not quite conceivable that the *stability* of *accidents* may co-exist with the *transmutation* of *substance*? If substance and its accidents be distinct existences, is not the notion conceivable and admissible that they may be dissociated? Thus, while the accidents disappear, the substance may continue unchanged, or while the accidents are permanent, the substance may be

* ‘La scholastique, ou philosophie du moyen âge, n’est de son côté autre chose que l’emploi de la philosophie comme simple forme au service de la foi, et sous la surveillance de l’autorité religieuse.’—*Cours de l’Histoire de la Philosophie*, par M. Victor Cousin, tom. i. p. 334.

‘La première époque de la scholastique n’est pas autre chose que l’emploi de la philosophie comme forme sur le fond de la théologie chrétienne.’—*Idem, ibid.* p. 341.

‘L’*Organum* d’Aristote fut la principale ressource de la scholastique, et pour bien comprendre cette première époque il faut ne jamais séparer dans son esprit saint Augustin et l’*Organum*.’—*Idem, ibid.* p. 342.

‘transmuted.’ The former was the notion of the alchemists, the latter that of the theologians.

The notion that such changes were possible, and might be anticipated by science or effected by art, was perfectly familiar to the minds of those who called themselves philosophers and learned men previously to the time of Des Cartes. It is wholly impossible for us to realise, in an age like ours—in which every phase of thought, or form of faith, has full liberty either to expand or collapse—the rigid mould into which the so-called philosophy of that day was cast.*

Bishop Hampden, in his *Bampton Lectures*, Lec. vii. p. 341, notices this intolerance. ‘The violence with which the Cartesian philosophy was attacked still further shows how closely implicated was the doctrine of sacramental influence with the ancient metaphysics. That philosophy was no direct attack on transubstantiation, but, as rejecting the Aristotelic theory of matter and form, and therefore evidently militating

* ‘In the year 1624, the Parliament of Paris passed a decree in favour of the doctrines of Aristotle, in consequence of the rashness of three unfortunate philosophers, who were accused of having ventured on certain theses that implied a want of due respect for his sovereign infallibility. In this, all persons were prohibited, under pain of death (*à peine de la vie*) from holding or teaching any maxim against the ancient and approved authors (*contre les anciens auteurs et approuvés*). In this truly memorable edict, the Parliament seem to have taken for their model the *letters patent*, as they were termed, which, about a century before, had been issued against Peter Ramus by Francis I., a sovereign who, for the patronage which he gave to literature, obtained the name of *protector of letters*; but who, as has been truly said, was far from being the *protector of reason*. Yet this proclamation, which condemns the writings of Ramus for the enormous guilt of an attempted improvement in dialectics, and which prohibits him “under pain of corporal punishment from uttering any more slanderous invectives

with the established notion of transubstantiation, it had to bear the brunt of opposition from the schools. The polemical discussions which it occasioned are monuments of the keen anxiety with which the shadowy outworks of the doctrine were guarded against the assaults of a novel method of philosophy. Had the doctrine been simply rested on the Divine Word, it would have had nothing to fear; but, cased as it was in metaphysical armour, it sensitively shrank from collision with the weapons of an ideal philosophy.'

This will adequately explain the cause of the angry terror that the calling in question any of the dogmas of the scholastic philosophy inspired.*

against Aristotle, and other ancient authors, received and approved," professes in its preamble to have been issued by the monarch, from his great desire for the progress of science and sound literature in France.'—Dr. Thomas Brown, *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Lec. xlv.

'The authority of Aristotle, for many years, was scarcely inferior in the schools to that of the Scriptures; and which, in some universities, was supported by statutes requiring the teachers to promise upon oath that in their public lectures they would follow no other guide. We are told, in the life of Galileo, that when the telescope was invented, some individuals carried to so great a length their devotion to Aristotle, that they positively refused to look through that instrument, so averse were they to open their eyes to any truths inconsistent with their favourite creed' (*Vita di Galileo, Venezia 1744*).—Dugald Stewart, *Preliminary Dissertation*, p. 16.

* In 1543, a complaint was made, in the name of the Academy of Paris, that Peter Ramus, in opposing Aristotle, had committed open hostility against religion and learning. The affair so engrossed public attention, that the King ordered Ramus to hold a public disputation with his accusers. The accusation was confirmed: the penalty inflicted on him was an entire prohibition to write or teach philosophy; and his enemies persecuted him with lampoons and satires, and even held him up to public ridicule upon the stage.

Ramus was assassinated on the night of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; a sacrifice to the philosophy of Aristotle and the enmity of the schoolmen.

Again, following out this theory, we might conceive of the same original hypostasis, or substance, *transmuted* into another *substance* exhibiting *accidents*, or attributes, quite different from the former. Aristotle calls these processes of change 'generation' and 'corruption': generation as regards the new forms, corruption with reference to the old. Thus, as an illustration, it might be possible by certain processes—processes not hitherto discovered—to *transmute* the *hypostasis*, or substance, of the metal lead into that of the metal gold, so that the *accidents* of the former shall pass into those of the latter. Hence the untiring zeal of successive generations of alchemists in their pursuit of the 'philosopher's stone,' the 'elixir of life,' &c. That the hypostasis, or substance, of natural bodies might be *transmuted* through the action of certain unknown—possibly, undiscoverable forces—was the one dominant idea directing the researches and controlling the aims of the mediæval alchemical philosophers.*

We may use another illustration. In an abstruse subject like this, illustration may render the matter clearer than argumentation. Substance, as understood

* Every labour of the alchemist, and all his ingenuity, were directed towards one or other of the following objects: the transmutation of the barren metals into gold; or the preparation of an universal medicine, which should arrest the progress of all disorders incident to the human frame, and thus prolong the life of the successful adept to an indefinite period of duration To give some idea of the prolific industry of those authors, we may mention that Petrus Borellus has given a catalogue of more than four thousand such publications up to the year 1654.—*Encyclopædia Metropolitana—Art. Chemistry*, p. 588.

by Aristotle and the schoolmen, may be compared to wax receiving successive impressions from a number of seals, each one effacing the stamp of the preceding. Hence *Substance* is always taking upon itself new *Forms*, as wax exhibits new figures and mottoes from the successively impressed seals. Now is it not quite conceivable, would it not present itself to the acute metaphysicians of the middle ages as a most inviting hypothesis, that the wax itself may be 'transmuted,' while the impression of the seal continues the same? Thus the wax and the seal are analogous to Substance and its Accidents.

Bishop Hampden (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 334) gives a luminous exposition of the cardinal principles of the Aristotelic philosophy; and clearly shows how they bear upon the scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation.

'I have already had occasion to point out the extent to which the theory of Transmutation was carried in the physical system of Aristotle. It was conceived to be a sufficient account of all the variety of appearances which nature exhibits. The forms of things were continually coming and receding in the ceaseless flux of sublunary nature; contraries expelling contraries, whilst a common matter subsisted, the same in all things and becoming all things, as the various *forms* of things successively acted on it. I have pointed out all this nearly in the same manner before. But the notions of Form and Matter require to be more particularly noticed, in reference to our present subject, in their connection with the mystical philosophy of the *Divine*

word. A Christian philosopher* could not adopt such a theory of nature (for in itself it was strictly atheistic; it described nature as an omnipotent energy in itself, working out its own instinctive tendencies) without modifying it by the principles of his theology. He did not therefore conceive these *forms*, in nature, to be independent of the Divine Reason or Word. Interpreting those passages of Scripture which speak of things made by the Word of God, as denoting expressly the creative efficacy of the second Person of the Trinity, he connected the communication of forms to matter with the Word of God throughout, that is, he conceived the Divine *words* uttered to carry that mystical creative force which belonged to the Divine Word, as existing in the Trinity. Hence it was, that certain words, accompanying the celebration of a sacrament, were said to be the Form of the Sacrament. In a manner analogous to the original formation of all things by the Divine Word acting on matter, it was conceived that the sacred words pronounced by the Priest came with power to the *element* or matter, and imposed on it a mystical or sacramental form. Thus a sacrament has been described as consisting of matter and form, the *matter* being the water or the bread and wine, the *form* the particular words of consecration uttered by the Priest. Hence, too, the use of the word Element itself, to denote the consecrated bread and wine, then being viewed like the four imagined

* Aquinas—*Sum. Theol.* pars iii. qu. 88. art. iv.

elements of the material world, as the bases of the sacred natures into which they were transformed. A certain matter and certain form are thus considered as indispensable to a sacrament.'

'But the term *substance* was not yet commonly interpreted in its proper metaphysical sense. The increasing acquaintance with Aristotle's philosophy, subsequently to that period, both demanded and suggested a further and more minute explanation.'

'The term *substance* now came to be viewed in its logical and metaphysical sense as the support of accidents, as the nature of a thing which may be conceived to remain, when every other nature is removed or abstracted from it—the ultimate point in analysing the complex idea of any object. The term *accident*, on the other hand, denotes all those ideas which the analysis excludes, as not belonging to the mere Being, or nature of the object.'

'But by the fallaciousness of realism, both *substance* and *accident* being understood to denote parts in the physical composition of bodies, the application of this doctrine to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist was naturally suggested. If *substance* and *accident* were parts of things, they might be conceived in a state of separation. The *substance* of anything might be present, whilst the *accidents* were absent, and the *substance* of one thing might be changed for the *substance* of another whilst the *accidents* remained.'

'It being admitted, then, that there was a transforming power in the words of consecration: whilst, at the

same time, it was evident, that no visible or sensible change was wrought on the bread and wine ; it was urged that the change had taken place in the substance of the sacred elements. The *Substantial Forms* of bread and wine were no longer in existence, at the instant that the words of consecration were completed ; but they were displaced by the Substance of Christ. The accidents of Bread and Wine—the taste and colour, and other such qualities, were not supposed to be in Christ “*as in their subject*,” though they evidently remained after the change of the substance to which they had belonged.’

‘This explanation raised a number of minute questions* as to the mode of co-existence of accidents with a substance not belonging to them, and of their existence out of a subject ; as to whether the accidents of the bread and wine possessed the power of nourishing, and the like. The discussion of such points exactly suited the genius of the scholastic philosophy, and at length matured the theory of the Eucharist, as professed in the Latin Church under the name of Transubstantiation.’

‘In no point is the prodigious influence which the scholastic philosophy has had on the world more

* ‘In the ninth century, we are told that Rabanus Maurus and Heribald entered into such discussions on the *detransubstantiation* of the elements, if we may use such a term, that their adversaries gave them the unsavoury name of *Stercoranists* ; thus showing that physical inquiries into the successive transmutations of the elements may be carried too far.’—Bishop Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Art. xxviii.

apparent than in this particular article. Antecedently to experience, we might have regarded it as impossible, that a doctrine so abstruse—so remote from religion when viewed in its source—not appealing to any sentiment of the heart—not captivating the judgment by the sublimity of its conception—should have become a corner-stone of faith to a large proportion of the Christian world. I do not speak of its *absurdity*, for it is clearly not *absurd* if, by that expression, we mean its inconsistency with reason. It is, on the contrary, perfectly consistent with reason, if we grant the hypotheses in philosophy on which it is founded. And even in those hypotheses themselves, there is nothing intrinsically absurd. We can only say with our present light in physical science, that they are unphilosophical and untrue.*

Time, however, has exposed the errors and laid bare the shallow foundations of this pretentious philosophy. If any physical discovery of modern times be certain, it is this, that the primary elements or original atoms of matter, which are more nearly one hundred in number than four, admit neither of 'generation' 'nor corruption.' They are unchangeable and indestructible. The multiplied changes and varied phenomena that are ever passing before and around us, are due to the countless combinations into which they enter, and the forces they reciprocally originate. Physicists maintain that the universe has not been

* Bishop Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, Lec. vii. p. 339.

augmented or diminished by a single atom of matter since the creation.

But assuming, for the moment, the philosophy of Aristotle to be a true account of the secret workings of nature, or rather of the God of Nature, more correctly speaking, nothing can be more intelligible, nothing more in accordance with right reason, than the alchemical transmutation of metals, and the papal doctrine of transubstantiation. They are rigidly logical conclusions from that philosophy. Thus it is perfectly intelligible how this invisible miracle may be effected. For while the *accidents* of the bread and wine, such as the colour, taste, smell, extension, fluidity, and such like, continue without change; the *hypostasis* or *substance* which supports these accidents may be 'transmuted' or 'transubstantiated' by Divine omnipotence into *another* hypostasis, entirely different from the former. We cannot argue against this, for there is no common ground of argument. There are no principles that we can start from, as from a common goal. We are like men struck with chromatic blindness, we see the same objects presenting to our view different colours. Nothing can be more illogical or fallacious than the celebrated argument of Archbishop Tillotson,* and of Bishop

* 'He that can once be brought to contradict or deny his senses, is at an end of certainty; for what can a man be certain of if he be not certain of what he sees? In some circumstances our senses may deceive us; but no faculty deceives us so little and so seldom: and when our senses do deceive us, even that error is not to be corrected without the help of our senses. Supposing the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been delivered in Scripture in the very same words that it is decreed in

Burnet, followed as they have been by several of our most popular theologians, that the doctrine of transubstantiation contradicts the evidence of our senses: that if they deceive us in this case, why may they not in others? and that, therefore, this obnoxious doctrine tends to produce scepticism. Now, to anyone who has held in mind what has been said above, it will be manifestly clear, that, as in the papal doctrine of transubstantiation, the stability of the *accidents* is in accord with the *transmutation* of the *substance*, and as this latter is not and cannot be the object of our senses, how can they

the Council of Trent: by what clearer evidence or stronger argument could any man prove to me that such words were in the Bible than I can prove to him that bread and wine after consecration are bread and wine still? He could but appeal to my eyes to prove such words to be in the Bible; and with the same reason and justice might I appeal to several of his senses to prove to him that the bread and wine after consecration are bread and wine still.'—*Archbishop Tillotson*, vol. ii. serm. xxvi. pp. 184, 185.

'In other miracles our senses are appealed to; but here they must be appealed from: nor is there any spiritual end served in working this miracle; for it is acknowledged that the effects of this sacrament are given upon our due coming to it, independent upon the corporal presence; so that the grace of the sacrament does not always accompany it, since unworthy receivers, though, according to the Romish doctrine, they receive the true body of Christ, yet they do not receive grace with it; and the grace that is given in it to the worthy receivers stays with them after that, by the destruction of the species of the bread and wine, the body of Christ is withdrawn. So that it is acknowledged that the spiritual effect of the sacrament does not depend upon the corporal presence.'—Bishop Burnet, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 422.

'In arguing against this doctrine, we may first observe, that it is contradicted by our senses, since we see and taste that the bread and wine after consecration, and when we actually receive them, still continue to be bread and wine, without any change or alteration whatever.'—*Bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 482.

be deceived.* The most implicit believer in this doctrine will as readily admit as its most bitter opponent that no change takes place in the accidents of this sacrament; that while all the other miracles of the Bible rest upon the evidence of the senses for proof of their reality, this is the only invisible miracle recorded. All other miracles appeal to the senses, for confirmation. The water, turned into wine, to the change in taste and colour; the loaves and fishes to their manifest multiplication before the eyes of the hungry multitude. When the maimed and the halt and the blind were restored to the full enjoyment of their limbs and senses, they did not continue still to all appearance maimed and halt and blind. Had the body of Lazarus continued in the grave, motionless and cold, it would have little availed had the disciples told the unbelieving Jews standing by, that Christ, on saying, 'Lazarus come forth,' had just performed a great miracle in

* 'Let us imagine the permanent unknown substance matter (the *materia prima* of Aristotle), and the permanent unknown substance mind, to be rendered, by the same divine power which made them, altogether different in their own absolute essence, as they exist independently, but to exhibit, relatively, precisely the same phenomena as at present. . . . In these circumstances, while all the phenomena which we observe, and all the phenomena of which we are conscious, continue exactly the same, can we believe that we should be able to discover the essential change which, according to this supposition, had taken place in the permanent subjects of these unvaried phenomena? And if, as long as the external and internal phenomena continued exactly the same, we should be incapable of discovering, or even suspecting, the slightest change, when by supposition there had been a change so great, how absurd is it to conceive that the changed or unchanged nature of the substance itself, as it exists independently of the phenomenon, ever can become known to us!'—Dr. Thomas Brown, *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Lec. x,

raising him from the dead; or had the water, when turned into wine, retained to all outward seeming the appearance of water still, we should have had miracles somewhat of the same kind as transubstantiation.

It was Christ's practice, openly, confidently, and demonstratively to appeal to the intellect and the senses of his hearers for confirmation of his arguments and proof of his assertions. So also did the Apostles; as St. John says (1 John i. 1), 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life, that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you.'

Christ himself did not reject the sceptical appeal of Thomas. 'Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side.' Or, as in Luke (xxiv. 39), 'Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me, and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have.'

It does not appear that Thomas had any knowledge of this miraculous conversion to which bread and wine might be subjected; or that by using a short form of words, like the incantation of a necromancer, he might reduplicate Christ, so as to have standing *before* him the body and blood, soul and divinity, of his Incarnate Lord, in all the majesty of his heavenly Presence; and the very same body and blood, soul and divinity, really present in the bread and wine lying on the table *beside* him.

And not only is this miracle the most transcendent

on record, but it is further remarkable in this respect, that while the other miracles of the Bible were isolated manifestations of Divine power, performed on rare and momentous occasions, and at unexpected times, this wonderful display of omnipotence is exhibited every day, nay, every hour of the day, in thousands of places, as a religious duty, as a vicarious sacrifice, as an equivalent for money, as a ransom for the dead.

The advocates of transubstantiation further observe, that if the words of the Institution expressed a mere metaphor, indicating no more than the commemoration of a benefactor, how is it that they are identically repeated by the three Evangelists and by St. Paul? What reason can be given for this identity but that they were to be used literally; and as they were declarative of so transcendent a mystery, it was necessary that the same exact words should be employed.

Now, however grave this objection may be—and it is grave—against that interpretation which makes the sacrament a mere commemorative ceremony, it fails altogether when urged against that deeper signification involved in the sacrament considered as a feast after or upon sacrifice. For the same fixed form of words would be just as necessary, if not more so, in this latter case as in the former. So necessary are such fixed forms of words to establish covenants or contracts, that in our own Law Courts, the maker of a deed, to render it valid, must use this set form of words and no other, ‘I deliver this as my act and deed.’

‘Our blessed Lord,’ says Bossuet,* ‘when he was establishing this solemn rite, was neither delivering a parable nor explaining an allegory. Therefore, such figurative expressions as “I am the vine,” “I am the door,” cannot be supposed to be in our Lord’s mind at this solemn time.’ But when this learned Prelate would lead us thence to infer that there could be no other occasion for the use of solemn figurative language, he tacitly assumes the whole question at issue. The solemn declaration of the nature of a federal rite, that should continue for all time, was such an occasion. He further adds that ‘these declaratory words are preceded by no preparatory matter which might be taken as leading up to them. That they stand alone, without reference to what goes before or to what comes after.’

Now, had Christ designed on the anniversary of the Passover to establish a rite entirely new and wholly dissociated from all previous institutions, it might naturally have been anticipated that He would have warned his disciples against the influences of those sacred associations by which they were surrounded, and have guarded them against the obvious inference, forced upon them by every act and saying of that memorable night, that the Eucharist was a development of the Passover, as Baptism was of Circumcision. In the institution of the sacrament of Baptism, Christ’s language is so precise and clear that no doubt can exist as to its meaning. Is it probable that the

* *Histoire des Variations*, tom. i. p. 74.

certainty of the transmission of such miracle-working power would be left to depend on the result of minute verbal criticism applied to the interpretation of certain forms of expression in Hellenistic Greek?

We should take a very one-sided view, and form a very inadequate conception of the origin of this sacrament, if we were to receive the declaratory words without reference to the acts by which they were accompanied. And not alone to the acts by which those words are to be interpreted, but also to the entire spectacle and the manifold associations which clung around the birth of this great Christian ordinance. The words must be read in the light reflected on them from the rites and customs used in the celebration of the Passover. We should place before our eyes, in mental vision, the solemn gathering of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, now held in subjection by the Romans—the manifold preparations for the feast—the keeping of the Passover—the quaint garniture of the sacrificial table—the eating of the unbroken paschal lamb, with the bitter herbs and the bread of affliction—the oblation of the typical red wine—the triumphant chaunt of the Hallel—the prescribed dress and the singular posture, indicating change—the world-old forms of the ancient speech: all these, long hallowed through the dimness of a hoar antiquity, led up to and finally culminated in the institution of the new Christian ordinance in the room of that older rite, then fading away into the shadows of the past.

Such being the solemnity of the adjuncts that waited

on the institution of the Eucharist, it is surely no better than an idle trifling with the truth for the learned Bishop of Meaux (Bossuet) to say that ‘ the institution of the Lord’s Supper was detached from every other discourse, having nothing to do with any other rite, and unconnected with any foregoing preparation.’ Indeed, it is not easy for us, indulging even in free conjecture, to imagine in what other way our Lord could have established this ordinance, assuming it to be such as we have endeavoured to prove it in the foregoing pages.

If the Eucharist be of the nature of a feast after a sacrifice, in which the very body sacrificed was eaten, and if this rite was to be instituted and first celebrated by that very Divine Person himself, who was offered up for our Redemption, the Institution must of necessity *precede* the Sacrifice. But, as in sacrificial feasts, the flesh of the animals sacrificed was the meat afterwards eaten, our Lord’s body and blood must necessarily be represented by symbols or emblems, and for these bread and wine were chosen, not only as being gifts of God to man, but reciprocally because they are also emblems of man’s compliance with the Divine command to labour. If not thus, how was Christ to indicate the viands of the post-sacrificial feast? or to show that He selected bread and wine in preference to the lamb and bitter herbs, as the elements of the new ordinance He was about to establish.

Th. Kliefoth, in his *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, p. 103, as quoted by Professor Kurtz, admirably says :—

‘ Bread and wine were not merely products of the

soil, not merely articles of food, growing up ready for man's eating through the goodness of God: they were *wrought out* by man himself, his production, acquired through his own labour in the sweat of his face. *Yea, more, they were also wrought by man*; they were not gifts of God, remaining in their natural form, not raw productions, that is to say, but something which man had produced by his own diligence and skill out of the gifts of God, and through the blessing of God. Thus, the materials of the *Minchah* represented not merely everything that man receives through the goodness of God, but everything that he produces by his own labour out of the gifts of God, and through the assistance and blessing of God—his labours and their results.'

Much to the same effect is the language of Irenæus: 'We offer unto God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks unto Him, because He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our food.'*

It is a clear inference, from Christ's discourse at Capernaum (John vi.), that to enable us to arrive at a just conception of the Eucharist, we must take into account, in drawing our conclusions, his acts as well as his words, and the circumstances under which they were delivered. Christ having referred to the miraculously multiplied loaves and fishes, draws a lesson from the miracle, and exhorts the Capernaïtes to labour

* Προσφέρομεν γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῇ γῇ ἐκέλευσε ἐκφύσαι τοὺς καρποὺς τούτους εἰς τροφήν ἡμετέραν.—*Iren. Frag. in Appendix ad Hippol. Oper. vol. ii. p. 64.*

not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. He contrasts this meat with the manna of which they boasted, declaring that the true bread is He who comes down from heaven, and gives life unto the world. The Capernaïtes, who were quite prepared to accept our Lord as the Christ, asked Him for this bread. He declares, 'I am the bread of life.' The Jews murmured at Him, because He said, 'I am the bread which came down from heaven.' On Christ's asserting still more emphatically, that he was the living bread, the Jews became still more indignant, asking, one with another, 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat.' Even His disciples recoiled from this declaration, exclaiming, 'This is a hard saying, who can bear it?' Christ replies to their murmurs, asserting that his language is figurative, that it is the Spirit that quickeneth—the flesh profiteth nothing. From that time, says St. John, 'Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with Him.' Hence the discourse at Capernaum differs in this respect from our Lord's declarations on the institution of the Eucharist, that while the former was a sublime but mystical discourse on the nature of his Sonship, having no expressed reference to any existing or future rite, however much it might be implied, the object of the latter was to establish a visible bond between the Eucharist and the Passover. The doctrine involved is the same in both. In the one is set forth all the solemn grandeur of a mystical revelation; in the other, it is developed by means of types

and symbols. Though the Jews murmured, and many of the disciples were so indignant as to abandon their Lord because they misunderstood the doctrine He had delivered at Capernaum, no inquiry is made or objection raised at the institution of the Eucharist, where Christ, of course, delivered the very same doctrine. How is this outcry, in the one case, and silence in the other, to be accounted for, but on the supposition that the disciples had at length come to understand the true nature of Christ's teaching.

That transubstantiation does not date back further than the ninth century will fully account for the fact, that while almost every narrative and every doctrine of the Gospel were exposed to the doubts and denials, the scoffs and cavils, of Jewish doctors and heathen philosophers, this doctrine wholly eluded their censure and refutation. How would Juvenal, or Tacitus, or Pliny, or Lucian, or Celsus, or Porphyry, or Jamblichus, have received transubstantiation? How profound would have been their contempt! How gross their satire! How often would Cotta's sneer, in reply to Balbus, in Cicero's 'de Natura Deorum,' have been quoted by these revilers of Christianity. 'Do you suppose,' says Cotta, 'that anyone could be so silly as to imagine that the food he was eating was a God?'* But it escaped all this, because it was the product of a later age. And

* As Cotta replies to Balbus:

— Cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus: genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato; *sed eequem tam amentem esse putas qui illud, quo vescatur Deum credat esse?*—Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, lib. iii. 16.

this will further explain the cause of that silence of controversy, which, during the first eight centuries, spread over the entire Christian world with respect to this now celebrated doctrine; while ever since the introduction of Aristotle's philosophy into Western Europe, it has held the foremost place in the van of polemical discussion.

As the main force of the defence of this doctrine rests upon the argument, that the words of institution must be taken in their strict literal sense, that they do not admit of a figurative interpretation like the expressions, 'I am the true vine,' 'I am the door,' &c., all of which are mere metaphors or parables; that the occasion was much too momentous and solemn for the use of such tropes and figures of speech, it becomes proper to show that a constructive representation of certain acts is to be found throughout the Bible. This is done with such comprehensive clearness, and with such force of argument, by Dr. Waterland, that we cannot do better than give his views: which to any unprejudiced reader must appear quite conclusive.

'Come we then directly to consider the words, "This is my body, and this is my blood." What can they or what do they mean?

'They cannot mean, that this bread and this wine are really and literally that body, in the same broken state as it hung upon the Cross, and that blood which was spilled upon the ground seventeen hundred years ago. Neither yet can they mean that this bread and wine, literally and properly, are our Lord's glorified

body, which is as far distant from us as heaven is distant; all sense, all reason, all Scripture, all antiquity, and sound theology exclaim against so wild a thought.

‘ Well, then, since the words cannot be understood literally, they must be brought under some figure or other, some softening explication to make them both sense and truth.’

‘ It appears more reasonable and proper to say, that the bread and wine are the body and blood (viz. the natural body and blood), in *just construction*, put upon them by the Lawgiver himself, who has so appointed, and who is able to make it good. The symbols are not the body in *power* and *effect*, if those words mean *efficiency*; but, suitable dispositions supposed in the recipient, the delivery of these symbols is, in construction of Gospel law and in Divine intention, and therefore in certain effect or consequence, a delivery of the things signified. If God hath been pleased so to order that these outward elements, in the due use of the Eucharist, shall be *imputed* to us, and *accepted* by Him as pledges of the natural body of our Lord, and that this constructional intermingling his body and blood with ours, shall be the same thing in effect with our *adhering* inseparably to Him, as members or parcels of Him; then those outward symbols are, though not literally yet interpretatively, and to all saving purposes, that very body and blood which they so represent with effect; they are appointed instead of them.*

* ‘ These creatures are the symbols and representations of Christ’s body and blood; they are substituted in the place and room of them, and the

‘This notion of the Sacrament, as it is both intelligible and reasonable, so is it likewise entirely consonant to Scripture language: considered first in the general, next with respect to the Jewish sacrifices and Sacraments, then with regard also to Christian Baptism, and lastly, with respect to what is elsewhere taught of the Eucharist. Further, it appears to have been the ancient notion of all the Christian Churches for six centuries or more, and was scarce so much as obscured, till very corrupt and ignorant ages came up, and was never totally lost, though almost swallowed up for a time by the prevailing growth of transubstantiation.’

‘Now, the interpretation here given is favoured by the general style or phraseology of Scripture, which abounds with examples of such figurative and constructional expressions, where one thing is mentioned and another understood, according to the way which I have before intimated. I do not here refer to such instances as are often produced in this subject as metaphorical locutions, when our Lord is styled a door, a vine, a star, a sun, a rock, a lamb, a lion, or the like, which amount only to so many similitudes, couched, every one respectively, under a single word. Neither do I point to other well-known instances of seven kine being seven years, and four great beasts being four great kings, and the field being the world, reapers being angels, and the like: which appertain only to visional or parabolical

manducation of the one and the drinking of the other is, to all intents, as valid and effectual to us, as if we did actually partake of these things which they do *represent*, and in *view* of which they are appointed.’—Dr. Pelling, *Discourse of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. 130.

representations, and come not up to the point in hand. The examples which we are to seek for, as similar and parallel to the expressions made use of by our Lord in the institution, must be those wherein some *real* thing is in *just construction* and certain effect allowed to be another thing.'

'Moses was a God to Pharaoh,* not literally, but in effect. The walking tabernacle or moving ark being a symbol of the Divine presence, was considered as God walking among his people.† Faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness,‡ or sinless perfection, not that it strictly or literally was so, but it was so accepted in God's account. John the Baptist was Elias, not literally but in just construction.§ Man and wife are one flesh,|| not in the utmost strictness of speech, but *interpretatively* or in effect they are considered as one. He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit,¶ is considered as so, and with real effect. The Church is our Lord's body,** interpretatively so. Levi paid tithes in Abraham, not literally, but constructionally so, as one may say.†† Abraham received his son Isaac from the dead, not really, but in just construction, and in a figure.‡‡ The Apostle tells his new converts, "ye are our Epistle and the Epistle of Christ,"§§ that is to say, an epistle or equivalent thereto, the same thing in effect or use.'

* Exod. vii. 1. † Levit. xxvi. 11, 12: Deut. xxiii. 14.

‡ Gen. xv. 6: Rom. iv. 3, 9, 22: Gal. iii. 6.

§ Matt. xvii. 12: Mark ix. 13.

|| 1 Cor. vi. 16.

¶ 1 Cor. vi. 17.

** Ephes. i. 23.

†† Heb. vii. 9.

‡‡ Heb. xi. 19.

§§ 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

‘From hence it may be observed that symbolical phrases and symbolical services were what the Jews had been long and much used to before our Lord’s time, which may be one reason why the Apostles showed no surprise at what was said to them in the institution of the Eucharist, nor called for any explanation. . . .’

‘Circumcision of the flesh was a symbolical rite, betokening the true circumcision of the heart; which was the condition of the covenant between God and his people on their part, and God’s acceptance of the same on His part, to all saving purposes. Therefore, circumcision had the name of covenant, and the sign was called what it literally was not, but what it really and truly signified, and to the faithful exhibited.

‘The like may be observed of the Passover, which was feasting upon a lamb, but was called the Lord’s Passover, as looking backwards plainly to the angels passing over the Hebrews, so as to preserve them from the plague then inflicted on the Egyptians, and mystically looking forward to God’s passing over the sins of mankind for the sake of Christ, the true Paschal Lamb.’

‘So in Baptism we may observe that it is not *literally* going into the grave with Christ, neither is it *literally* rising from the dead with Him; but it is so *interpretatively* and in certain effect, proper dispositions supposed on our part: and it is not barely a *representation* of a thing, but a real *exhibition*. So likewise in the Eucharist, the elements are not *literally* what they are called, but they are *interpretatively* and in *effect* the

same thing with what they stand for. Such appears to be the true account of the symbolical phrases of the institution.'

'To this agrees what we meet with farther in St. Paul's account of this Sacrament. It is the *communion* of the body and blood of Christ, which expresses communication on the part of the donor, and *participation* on the side of the receiver. There is communication from God, and a participation by us, of Christ's *crucified* body directly, and of the body glorified consequentially. This *grant* and this *reception* of our Lord's body are to be understood after the manner of *symbolical grants* and *conveyances*: where the symbols are construed to be in *real* and *beneficial* effect, what they supply the place of.'

'St. Bernard * compares the Sacraments with instruments of investiture (into lands, honours, dignities), which are significant and emblematical of what they belong to, and are at the same time means of conveyance. A book, a ring, a crozier, and the like, have often been made use of as instruments for such purpose. They are not without their significancy in the way of instructive emblem, but what is most considerable, they are instruments to convey those rights, privileges, honours, offices, possessions, which in silent language they point to. Those small gifts or

* 'Varie sunt investituræ secundum ea quibus investimur: Verbi gratia, investitur canonicus per librum, abbas per baculum et annulum simul: sic ut, inquam, in ejusmodi rebus est, sic et divisiones gratiarum diversis sunt traditæ Sacramentis.'—Bernard, *De Cæna Domini*, serm. i. p. 145.

pledges are as nothing in themselves, but they are highly valuable with respect to what they are, pledges, and what they legally and effectively convey. So it is with the signs and symbols of both sacraments, and particularly with the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist. They are after consecration called by the names of what they are pledges of, and are ordained to convey; because they are, though not literally, yet in just construction and certain effect (standing on Divine promise and Divine acceptance), the very things which they are called, viz. the body and blood of Christ to all worthy receivers. In themselves, they are bread and wine from first to last; but while they are made use of in the Holy Service they are considered, construed, understood (pursuant to Divine law, promise, covenant) as standing for what they represent and exhibit. Thus, frequently in human affairs, things or persons are considered very differently from what they really are in themselves by a kind of construction of law, and they are supposed to be, to all intents and purposes, and in full legal effect, what they are presumed to serve for, and to supply the place of.'

'A deed of conveyance, or any like instrument, under hand and seal, is not a *real* estate, but it conveys one, and it is, in effect, the estate itself, as the estate goes along with it, and as the right, title, and property (which are real acquirements) are, as it were, bound up in it, and subsist by it. If any person should seriously object in such a case that he sees

nothing but wax and parchments, and that he does not apprehend how they can be of any extraordinary value to him, or how he is made richer by them, he might be pitied, I presume, for his unthinking ignorance and simplicity. But if, in a contrary extreme, he should be credulous enough to imagine that the *parchments themselves* are *really* and literally the estate, are so many houses and tenements or acres of glebe inclosed in his cabinet, he could not well be presumed to be far short of distraction. I leave it to the intelligent reader to make the proper application.'—Dr. Waterland, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 148.

To what Waterland says, we might add, that when a man enters into a covenant, and signs a legal deed, no one could conceive that the hand which wrote the signature was corporeally present in the handwriting, nor would he, on the other hand, suppose that the signature was a mere exercise of penmanship, carrying with it neither obligations, nor implying the bonds of a covenant.

Previously to investigation, one would naturally have imagined that the gross corporeal notion of sacrifice was the ancient conception, while the spiritual view of it would be attributed to the more refined deductions of modern thought. Strange to say, the very opposite is the case, as Dr. Waterland clearly shows.

'I know not how it comes to pass, that moderns generally have reckoned all the spiritual sacrifices among the nominal, improper, metaphorical sacrifices:

whereas the ancients judged them to be the truest sacrifices of any, yea, and infinitely more excellent than the other. The ancients looked upon the spiritual sacrifices as true and proper sacrifices, and are so to be understood whenever they apply the name of sacrifice to the service of the Eucharist. But to make it a material sacrifice would, in their account, have been degrading and vilifying it, reducing it to a legal ceremony, instead of a Gospel service.'

'The service, therefore, of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a true and proper sacrifice (as I shall show presently), and the noblest that we are capable of offering ; when considered as comprehending under it many true and evangelical sacrifices. (1) The sacrifice of alms to the poor, and oblations to the Church ; which, when religiously intended and offered through Christ, is a Gospel sacrifice. Not that the material offering is a sacrifice to God, for it goes entirely to the use of man ; but the *Service* is what God accepts. (2) The sacrifice of Prayer from a pure heart, is evangelical incense. (3) The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God the Father through Christ Jesus our Lord, is another Gospel sacrifice. (4) The sacrifice of a penitent and contrite heart even under the Law, and now much more, under the Gospel, when explicitly offered through Christ, was a sacrifice of the New Covenant, for the New Covenant commenced from the time of the fall, and obtained under the Law, but couched under shadows and figures. (5) The sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and

bodies, is another Gospel sacrifice. (6) The offering up the mystical body of Christ, that is, His Church, is another Gospel sacrifice, or rather it is coincident with the former; excepting that these persons are considered in their *single* capacity, and here collectively in a body. I take the thought from St. Augustin, who grounds it chiefly on 1 Cor. x. 17. (7) The offering up of converts or sincere penitents, who have laboured successfully in the blessed work, is another very acceptable Gospel sacrifice. (8) The sacrifice of faith and hope, and self-humiliation in commemorating the grand sacrifice, and resting finally upon it, is another Gospel sacrifice, and eminently proper to the Eucharist, &c.

‘Having thus far intimated beforehand, what I apprehend to be in the main, or in general, a just account of the Eucharistical Sacrifice upon the principles laid down in Scripture, as interpreted by the ancients, I shall next proceed to examine the ancients, one by one, in order to see whether this account tallies with what they have said upon this article.’

Dr. Waterland then proceeds at considerable length to quote most of the ancient fathers in succession, all to show that they did not recognise a corporeal or material sacrifice under the Christian Dispensation: that while the *legal* Jewish sacrifices were *material*, the Gospel Christian sacrifices were *spiritual*. In support of this view, he marshals an imposing array of ancient authorities. But as the opinions of the early fathers will to most persons at the present day seem

to be of importance, more as showing the prevailing current of thought of the Church in their time, than for their own intrinsic value, a few are here selected.

‘Justin Martyr is so clear and so express upon the subject of Gospel Sacrifice, that one need not desire any fuller light than he will furnish us with. The sum of his doctrine is, that prayers and praises and universal obedience are the only Christian sacrifices; from whence it most evidently follows that whenever he gives the name of oblation or sacrifice to the Eucharist, his whole meaning is, that it is a religious service, comprehending prayers, praises, &c., and therefore has a just title to the name of Christian oblation and sacrifice. But let us examine the passages.’

He writes thus*: ‘We have been taught that God has no need of any material oblation from men, well knowing that He is the giver of all things: but we are informed and persuaded, and do believe that he accepts those only who copy after him moral perfections, purity, righteousness, and philanthropy.’

‘Here we may observe that God accepts not, according to our author, any material oblation at all, considered as a gift to Him, nor anything but what is spiritual, as all religious services, and all virtuous exercises really are: those are the Gospel oblations, according to Justin, here and everywhere. A few pages after, he takes notice, ‘that God has no need of

* ‘Αλλ’ οὐ δέεσθαι τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσειλήφαμεν τὸν Θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέχοντα πάντα ὁρῶντες,’ &c.—Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. p. 14, edit. Lon.

blood libations or incense, but the Christian manner was to offer him prayers and thanksgivings for all the blessings they enjoy, to the utmost of their power : that the only way of paying him honour suitable was not to consume by fire what He had given for our sustenance, but to spend it upon ourselves, and upon the poor, and to render him the tribute of our grateful hymns and praises.'

' Here we may note how exactly he points out the difference between other sacrifices (pagan or Jewish) and the sacrifices of the Gospel. In those there was something *spent*, as it were, immediately upon God, entirely lost, wasted, consumed, because considered as a gift to God only, which is the proper notion of a material sacrifice ; but in these nothing is entirely spent or consumed, but all goes to the use of man : only the praise, the glory, the tribute of homage and service, that is given to God, and that He accepts as a proper sacrifice, most suitable to his Divine Majesty,' &c.

' In another place, he expressly teaches that prayers and thanksgivings, made by them that are worthy, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices, adding, that those only are offered in the Eucharistical commemoration,' &c.

' Justin's principles, if rightly considered, hang well together, and are all of a piece. He rejects all material sacrifices absolutely ; and though the Eucharist be a sacrifice, according to him, yet it is not the matter of it, viz. the bread and wine, that is properly the sacrifice, but is the service only, and that is a spiritual

sacrifice. Alms are a Gospel sacrifice, according to St. Paul ; not the material alms, but the exercise of charity, that is the sacrifice. In like manner, the Eucharist is a Gospel sacrifice. Not the material symbols, but the service, consisting of prayer, praise, contrite hearts, self-humiliation, &c. Well, but may not the like be said of all the legal sacrifices, that there also the service was distinct from the matter, and so those also were spiritual sacrifices? No: the circumstances were widely different. In the legal sacrifices, either the whole or some part of the offering was directly given to God, and either consumed by fire, or poured forth, never returning to the use of man ; and thereupon was founded the gross notion, of which God, by his prophets, more than once complains, as if the Deity had need of such things, or took delight in them. But now, under the Gospel, nothing is so given to God, nothing consumed in his immediate service ; we present His gifts and His creatures before Him, and we take them back again for the use of ourselves and our brethren. All that we really give up to God, as his tribute, are our thanks, our praises, our acknowledgments, our homage, ourselves, our souls and bodies, which is all spiritual sacrifice, purely spiritual ; and herein lies the main difference between the law and the Gospel. We have no material sacrifices at all. The matter of the Eucharist is sacramental, and the bread and wine are signs—signs of a sacrifice, that is of the sacrifice of the Cross ; but as to any sacrifice of ours, it lies entirely in the service we perform, and in the qualifications or

dispositions which we bring, which are all so much spiritual oblation, or spiritual sacrifice, and nothing else.

‘I cannot repeat too often, that in such cases the *service*, the *good work*, the *duty* performed is properly the *sacrifice*. When Cornelius’s prayers and alms ascended up for a memorial (a name alluding to the legal incense), it was not his money nor any material gift that ascended or made the memorial, but it was the piety, the mercy, the beneficence, the virtues of the man. Under the Gospel, God receives no material thing at all to be consumed and spent in his own immediate service, and for his honour only; he receives no blood, no libation, no incense, no burnt-offerings, no perfumes as before. If he receives alms and oblations, as in the Eucharistical service, he receives them not as gifts to himself, to be consumed in his immediate service, but as gifts to be consecrated to the use of man, to whom they go. All that is *material* is laid out upon man only: not upon God, as in the Jewish economy. But God receives now, under the Gospel, our religious services, our good works, our virtuous exercises, in the name of Christ, and these are our truly Christian and spiritual sacrifices. . . . So that it is plain that the New Testament admits of none but spiritual sacrifices, because none else are now properly given to God, or accepted by him as so given.’

Athenagoras observes ‘that God needs no blood, nor fat, nor sweet scents of flowers, nor incense, but the noblest sacrifice in His sight is to understand His

works and ways, and to lift up holy hands to Him. A little after, he adds, ‘What should I do with burnt offerings, which God has no need of, but it is meet to offer Him an unbloody sacrifice, and to bring Him a rational service.’ It may be worth noting, that here in Athenagoras we find the first mention of unbloody sacrifice, which he makes equivalent to reasonable service, and he applies it not particularly to the Eucharist but to spiritual sacrifices at large.

A few extracts may suffice to show Tertullian’s sentiments of the Christian sacrifice. In his famous *Apology* he thus explains them to the Pagans:—

‘I offer unto God a fatter and nobler sacrifice which Himself hath commanded, viz. prayer sent out from a chaste body, an innocent soul, and a sanctified spirit, not worthless grains of frankincense, the tears of an Arabian tree,’ &c.* I shall only observe that if Tertullian had understood the material elements of the Eucharist to be a sacrifice, how easy might it have been to retort upon him the worthless grains of wheat, and the like. But he had no such thought. Prayer and a good life were his sacrifice. In another place of his works, he says, ‘We sacrifice, indeed, but it is with pure prayer, as God has commanded; for God,

* ‘Sacrificamus—sed quomodo Deus præcepit, pura prece: non enim eget Deus, conditor universitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicujus.’—Tertul. *ad Scap.* cap. ii. p. 69, edit. Rigault.

‘Offero ei opimam et majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit; orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu sancto pro-fectam; non grana thuris unius assis, Arabicæ arboris lacrymas.’—Tertul. *Apol.* cap. xxx.

the Creator of the universe, hath no need of any incense or blood.'

How obvious might it have been to retort, that God has no need of bread and wine, had that been the Christian sacrifice.

It is needless further to quote the evidence of the early ecclesiastical writers. The question of 'change of substance,' as understood in ages long after their times, would have been to them unintelligible. Besides, even were their teaching other than it is, we could not admit it in direct opposition to the language of Scripture, the evidence of antiquity, and the plain dictates of our own understandings.

But when all the arguments are refuted, and fallacies detected, and authorities disproved that are advanced in support of this theory, its upholders fall back upon other pleas, and appeal to general considerations; such as the vast numbers who profess to believe in it, the antiquity it claims, the learned advocates who have argued on its behalf, the holy men who have testified to it by their lives. We are referred to the maxim of Vincentius de Lyra, 'that what has been held *always, everywhere, and by everybody*, must be true, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.*'

Now, this axiom is either a manifest truism, or a groundless proposition. If its supporters mean to assert, that what is always and universally believed, *without exception*, must be true, as that the sun shines or fire burns, it is nothing better than an evident but futile statement. No one disputes it. But if, on the

other hand, this proposition is to be taken as only *morally* universal, as the logicians say, or that a great majority of people do believe and always have believed it to be true, then this celebrated rule is manifestly false; and the Inquisition might have used the much vaunted maxim, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, to prove to Galileo that the sun moves round the earth; and the heathen philosophers, by its help, might have refuted Christianity.

Arguments and considerations such as these are no better than a grave mockery and vain delusion. They no more prove the Presence of Christ's Body in the sacrament, than we can infer the presence of land and sea from those gorgeous hues that tint the airy castles, and battlemented towers, and beetling promontories, and rocky islands, which from time to time are pictured on the clouds that mass and group themselves around the setting sun. The images that fall upon our eyes are real. But it is all seeming and illusion, nor land nor sea are there.

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